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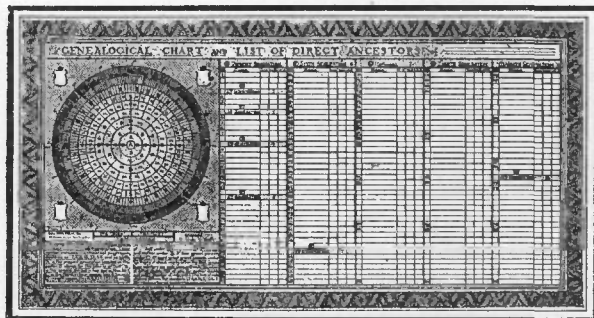
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THE RED BOOK, 1819-1821, A SATIRE ON BALTIMORE SOCIETY

By CHARLES H. BOHNER

A SMALL, neatly printed pamphlet entitled simply *The Red Book* appeared anonymously in Baltimore on October 23, 1819. It was an immediate success. Within two months a third edition was called for, and the authors were encouraged to bring out seven more installments at intervals of about a fortnight. Eventually two more numbers were published, and the ten issues, collected and bound in two slim volumes, hold a small but significant place in the literary history of Baltimore.

Historians regularly list *The Red Book* as a Baltimore contribution to the *Spectator* tradition in America which was represented by the *Salmagundi* in Washington Irving's New York coterie and the *Portfolio* in Joseph Dennie's Philadelphia circle. Of equal

importance, *The Red Book* was the first important publication of Baltimore's most distinguished nineteenth-century man of letters, John Pendleton Kennedy. The occasional references to the volumes, however, are often oblique, suggesting that they are seldom read, perhaps because of their rarity. Kennedy himself preserved only one copy, and in 1860 it was, he wrote, "the only copy I know of in the country."¹ In 1870 Brantz Mayer, president of the Maryland Historical Society, noted on the flyleaf of the copy now in the Library of Congress: "This is one of the rarest of Maryland Books, (written and published in Baltimore) now long out of print and probably not a dozen copies in existence complete." At Kennedy's death in 1870, a writer for the Baltimore *American* observed that copies of *The Red Book* "are now rare, and are highly praised on account of the sketches of Baltimore at that time which they contain."²

John Pendleton Kennedy was twenty-three years old and a promising, ambitious lawyer when the first number of *The Red Book* appeared in 1819. His life up until that time was closely connected with Baltimore. He was born in 1795 in a house in Market (now Baltimore) Street, the son of a local merchant. He attended dame school and the Priestley Academy in his native city, graduated from Baltimore College in 1812, and in 1814 served as a private soldier in the battles of Bladensburg and North Point. Following his admission to the bar in 1816, he established bachelor quarters with several friends on St. Paul Street, and his geniality and talent for the social graces gained him rapid ascent into the rarer atmosphere of the Baltimore social galaxy.

Young Kennedy was handsomely endowed physically. About five feet ten inches tall, he was exacting in his dress, and while not inclined to attitudinize, he had a flare for bright colors and slightly exaggerated fashions. Perhaps the more homespun Baltimoreans privately labeled this young man a coxcomb who obviously enjoyed the effect produced by a scarlet lining in his great coat. His forehead was high, his chin slightly aggressive, and his lean, oval face was redeemed from an ascetic quality by a glint of humor lurking in his eyes. This last, the reflection of a

¹ Diary of John Pendleton Kennedy, Nov. 7, 1860. Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.

² Baltimore *American*, Aug. 20, 1870.

tranquil and sunny temperament, was admirably caught in the portrait by Matthew Wilson³ and was not altogether submerged even in the murky daguerreotypes—the eyes of a man who scrutinized life and found it inexpressibly droll.

In later years Kennedy won fame for his gently ironic picture of plantation life in Virginia, *Swallow Barn* (1832), his novel of the Revolution, *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835), and his romance of colonial Maryland, *Rob of the Bowl* (1838). In politics he distinguished himself as a member of the House of Delegates at Annapolis for four terms, as congressman at Washington for three, and as Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore. But in 1819, these triumphs were all before him.

Kennedy was joined in the enterprise of *The Red Book* by his intimate friend, Peter Hoffman Cruse. Kennedy and Cruse were inseparable. While Cruse lived, the two friends went everywhere together, and whether attracting attention at a masked ball as palmers from the Holy Land or dominating the table talk at the dinner of a wealthy merchant, their combined wit could transform a gathering into an occasion.⁴ John H. B. Latrobe, son of the architect of the Capitol and himself a well-known Baltimore lawyer, called them "the Damon and Pythias of society in Baltimore. . . . Both had humor; but while Cruse was full of it, Kennedy was overflowing."⁵ "We have associated so long together," Kennedy wrote in the first number of *The Red Book*, "that all our habits and notions have become completely identified, and it not infrequently happens from this very cause, that one of us is eternally appropriating, as the peculiar figment of his brain, the schemes and projects of the other."

Cruse evidently had a ready facility for brilliant conversation, for his law office in the Athenaeum Building was a center of good literary talk in Baltimore.⁶ He had a volatile temper and could be moody and irritable when depressed by what he considered the world's neglect. A defeat at chess would throw him into "an infernal passion." With a sweep of his arm, he would

³ Owned by the Peabody Institute Library.

⁴ John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and his Times 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917), p. 222; "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII (1922), 246.

⁵ Semmes, *Latrobe*, pp. 224-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9.

pettishly scatter the chessmen about the room; and having sworn never to play again, in two hours' time he would sheepishly offer to renew the game.⁷

In later years, Kennedy said of Cruse: "He is pre-eminently the most scrupulous and delicate man in his judgments that I ever knew, and one who . . . would not hesitate to speak to me in such a tone as suited my honour and reputation without the least bias from friendship."⁸ In *The Red Book*, Cruse penned a self-portrait in verse:

Meanwhile,—that doughty men may know
What doughtier hero is their foe,—
My height's five feet eleven,
My courage fair, my temper hot,
My hand not bad at pistol shot
My age scant twenty-seven.

Cruse did not share Kennedy's inclination for public life, for he longed to be a poet in a world where the vocation did not exist. His ill-starred career leaves the impression of a man whose wit was a defense against a hostile environment that valued him below his merits. The two men illustrate the paths open to an ambitious author in the early nineteenth century. A man could, like Kennedy, enter the law and go on to politics considering literature as a by-product and ornament of an "elegant leisure." This was a role society readily sanctioned. Cruse, on the other hand, drifted out of the law which he found uncongenial and into journalism, writing an occasional review for the *North American*, and eventually becoming an editor of the *Baltimore American* and later the *Patriot*, where he seldom transcended the limits of a newspaper column.⁹ Wracked by ill health and depressed by the drudgery of hack writing, he grew increasingly waspish: "Were I to follow my inclination, I should hardly ever shut my book, or leave my chamber. It is not that I am morose, but I can neither bear the same temperature nor enter into the same topics that others can."¹⁰ Cruse fell victim of a cholera epidemic in Baltimore September 7, 1832, his early promise

⁷ Josias Pennington to Kennedy, June 14, 1822. Pennington Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

⁸ Kennedy to Elizabeth Gray, Aug. 8, 1828. Kennedy Papers.

⁹ *Baltimore American*, Sept. 8, 1832.

¹⁰ P. H. Cruse to Philip R. Fendall, Mar. 30, 1830. Maryland Historical Society.

unfulfilled, and he is unknown to literary history except for his association with Kennedy in *The Red Book*.¹¹

At their bachelor quarters Kennedy and Cruse had begun to project a periodical, a satiric potpourri in the *Spectator* tradition. Josias Pennington, another young Baltimore lawyer, recalled the two friends during the years in St. Paul Street as about "equally fond of literature and ladies,"¹² and the idea for a periodical was probably inspired less by the thought of unselfish service to the muse than by a hope for drawing room notoriety.

The Red Book was brought out by a local printer, Joseph Robinson. His "Circulating Library" at the corner of Market and Belvedere Streets was a flourishing Baltimore institution owing no doubt to its imaginative proprietor. Robinson had a thorough acquaintance with the vagaries of the genus author, and he brought to his work experience as an enterprising publisher, literary critic, and unflinching counselor to ambitious writers. When the first printing of *The Red Book* rapidly sold out, he hastened to deflate the vanity of these young authors by assuring them that all depended on the second number, curiosity only having sold the first. True, the town was in a ferment. But he attributed this, with more truth than tact, to the mystery surrounding the publication and the thinly veiled allusions to personalities rather than to any intrinsic merit.¹³ "A word," he cautioned, "about *concealment*. I have commenced the publication of several works under the plan of concealment—but unfortunately the success and popularity of the first efforts has generally tickled the authors into an avowal to a few particular friends, who soon made it publick. It is against this vanity of authorship that I caution you, as I know from experience that curiosity is the ruling passion in the publick, the gratification of which is the principal incitement to purchase a Book."¹⁴ Robinson was a past master of merchandising. He contrived to keep a crowd at the "Circulating Library" all day by refusing to let copies of *The Red Book* out to other book sellers for, he remarked dryly, "nothing sells a book so well as the *apparent* demand."¹⁵ He confided to the

¹¹ Josias Pennington to Kennedy, Sept. 7, 1832. Pennington Papers.

¹² Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), p. 108.

¹³ Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

¹⁴ Joseph Robinson to Charles Dilworth, Oct. 14, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

¹⁵ Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

fledgling authors that "I have rather the publick should believe they could get a copy with difficulty and intend to have the first edition *out of print* before it is half sold, in order to induce a belief that the work is in great demand—a second edition looks so very respectable."¹⁶ His advertisements were exercises in subtlety. Shunning the blurb as too obvious, he informed his customers through the newspapers of the progress of a forthcoming number and of the exact hour of the day it would be offered for sale, apologized for his failure to meet public demand, and advised purchasers to have "the ready change" so that he might "accomodate them quicker."¹⁷ It was perhaps Robinson who suggested whetting the curiosity of the town wits by inserting the following "puzzle" in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* a few days before the publication of the first issue of *The Red Book*.¹⁸

There will appear in a few days a phenomenon, which its inventors, but for their modesty, would call a prodigy. It will not be seen in the heavens, though it is believed it will *take air*. It will be of small size, (the philosopher who has predicted its advent, having determined it to be eighteen times less than his *folio*) and of a red color. It is not, however, of the comet family, though it is of a fiery complexion, and of a devious course, and will be somewhat irregular in its returns. It will be full of black spots like the sun, which it is expected the curious will often be found gazing at; but what is singular, it is these only which will make it *shine*. There will no earthquakes attend its appearance, indeed judicious thinkers believe it will do good, though it will no doubt create some consternation among silly and ignorant persons, and set all *light bodies* and *mere vapors* in a flame. It will exert, perhaps, some influence on the approaching *season*; but it will be very opposite to that which is sometimes experienced from the Moon; and astrologers say it will have the singular property of setting the young men to reading, and the young women to guessing. Its *right ascension* is not yet determined, but it will look for all the world like Sagittarius shooting the *goose*. We are inclined to believe it does not shine with borrowed light; but there will be some very shrewd Philosophers of a contrary opinion. It resembles *Saturn* least of all the planets, and is certainly no *satellite*.

It may now be expected in a few days, and we recommend it to all persons, as is customary on the appearance of a new moon, by all means, to have some silver in their pockets.

The reference to silver was particularly appropriate, for Robinson's aims were refreshingly clear. "The object is profit," he

¹⁶ Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse. Oct. 18, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

¹⁷ Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1819; Dec. 23, 1819; Jan. 22, 1820.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1819.

announced of one new periodical. It would "be issued *when* the publisher pleases, as *often* as he pleases, and *contain* what he pleases." Similarly, *The Red Book* would appear "varying with the inclination of the publisher."¹⁹ He was so inclined, for it was a popular, and presumably a financial, success. The hand presses could not keep up with demand. It was "talked of at every dinner and tea drinking in town,"²⁰ and by March, 1820, Robinson was advertising a bound volume of the first six numbers.²¹

The Red Book faithfully mirrored Baltimore society, for Cruse and Kennedy had observed closely and reported accurately. The pamphlets had all the exuberance and brash insolence of youth, and like any young man's book, tried to sound a hundred years old. The authors began with the classic stereotype of the satirist: "The world in our opinion needs correction and we have essayed to use the weapons placed in our hands." Although Robinson warned them that the barbs of their wit struck too close to home, in all probability it was the personal tone that gave the paper its notoriety. Allusion to angry protests and insulted victims, probably imaginary, was a technique borrowed from *Salmagundi*. The town eagerly scanned a new issue, each person searching for a reflection of his own likeness. Frivolous coquettes, fops and dandies, the pompous new rich; all were roundly abused. The first issue warned Baltimore what to expect: "Baltimore, it is said abroad, is celebrated for three things—its *music*, its *churches* and its *military*. In each of these, are strange anomalies. Music is patronized by those who have the least *ear* and the most *money* (which is only another name for discord). The best *churches* are built by the worst christians; and in the *military* department, it is observed, that all logick is set at defiance in making *majors* of *minors*." Fashions in humor change and today this doubtless sounds fatuous, but in 1819 Baltimore laughed and tried to guess the identity of the wags who wrote it. *The Red Book* revealed this society as it was, increasingly self-conscious and increasingly sophisticated, for the satiric spirit invariably accompanies such growth. The authors were ready to admit what the success of their pamphlets implied—Baltimore's awakening interest in litera-

¹⁹ Baltimore *American*, Nov. 27, 1822; *The Red Book*, I, 36.

²⁰ Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

²¹ *Federal Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1820.

ture. "Letters are now of such repute," Kennedy has his old philosopher, Mr. Bronze, observe, "that I am not bold in saying that most of our gentlemen read the Reviews, and our ladies Waverly—only skipping the Scotch."

Since Kennedy and Cruse had "promised to rectify all abuses," they "found it necessary from time to time to stroll through the principal haunts of our fashionables, in order to ascertain the precise condition of the body politick at each period. It seemed particularly necessary, that Market-street should be accurately inspected from either extreme—first, because Market-street is a perfect epitome of the whole city, and secondly, because it is the perfect prize fighting ground to which every patrician and plebian is referred for contest."

As this was the first time I had ever gone officially to work on my rectifying project, I am sure Aeneas did not pass with greater admiration through the streets of Carthage in his cloak of cloud, than did I through the streets of this our noble city in my cloak of plaid. Every thing wore an unusual aspect, and as the bustle, confusion, gaiety and tumult of the scene pressed upon my senses with an urgency that defied arrangement or deliberation, I shall be excused for giving my impressions as I remember them from the instant.

Trade, from several indications, appeared to be at a most deplorable ebb. The payments were free from that accumulation of bales and barrels and crockery which, in the busy times, formed labyrinths almost inextricable; the drays were empty, and like other things that are empty, made most noise. For squares before me, I could perceive a multitude of borrowers popping into one door after another, like the autumn bees seeking for honey in exhausted flowers, with fruitless assiduity. A few clerks with bank books under their arms, were striding with rapid steps to make some slim deposits in the banks, while the runners of these monied institutions, with a haste that outstripped competition, were carrying to the several stages of their journey that unwelcome message which merchants usually read in the quaint and laconic letters of "Your note due at—on—and—."

Here and there I could observe a few spruce and well-combed shopkeepers standing at their doors, with either hand immersed in the side pocket, gazing with a kind of hopeless disquietude upon the street, while the pert young tenant of a huge merino, secure from impertinent glances under her bower-bearing bonnet, trippingly held her way upon the plain masonry, as disinterested to the shopkeeper, bank runner and merchant's clerk, as she wished to be thought in the ministrations of her charity in the Dorcas or Aimwell.

The show before me was made up of various actors, all in tumult and uproar. An elderly matron on one side was laying up a winter's store

of blankets—a young married lady on the other, was selecting a hearth rug from some score of samples. Some old maids here and there interspersed, were buying ruffs to cover the neck, and furbelows to dally round the ankles—while a whole volley of young girls bounding with the healthful skip of the dancing school from a carriage into a perfumery or a milliner's shop, were laying in with a most impetuous haste, stores of soap, tooth powder, macassar oil—bundles of flowers, and that mysterious instrument of steel, somewhat resembling Sena Sama's sword, which these untamed citizens use for a purpose that I cannot precisely comprehend; the effect of which, however, is to render them as straight as the above mentioned sword swallower, and to maintain with a more accurate distinction, a separation which nature has not always made entirely clear. . . .

It would be vain to attempt to picture the confusion, uproar and riot, with the consequent thrill communicated to the senses by the toilsome, never ending jarring of carts, drays, wheelbarrows, gigs, chairs, sulkies, buggies, chariots, cabrioles, barouches and coaches which fill up the street. Upon these I looked with *indifference*, principally because they fled too rapidly from my view to engage much speculation. It had been hinted to me, that from the pressure of the times and the economical disposition of the city, the number of the last mentioned vehicles was considerably diminished, or to use the more technical phrase, they had been recently put down. I presume, however, my informant was mistaken, as they came rattling one after the other, revived in gayer colours, from the chrysalis of the coach house, where they had passed their time in cobwebs and in canvas. . . .

I remember that the bucks *stood* in bundles at the corners, possibly from a consciousness of individual weakness—probably, for no other cause than that they were like the people of Phoeaca, and did not know what else to do. The Lawyers *walked* in knots—because, perhaps, they deal in these articles, and moreover are of greater service to each other than to any one else, and therefore fond of each other's company. The Doctors, on the contrary, walked alone—I presume for the very opposite reason, as they are seldom known to admire or esteem one another. The young ladies generally walked upon the *sides* of their feet; some with the toes turned inwards—others outwards, according to the fancy of the owner; the varieties arising mostly from the degree of tightness in the shoe, necessary to compress the feet into fashionable dimensions. . . .

In this motley assemblage, the sourest face I saw, belonged to an old maid who had in her youth been a toast. The most cheerful looking man, was a bankrupt. The busiest matron, a widow who had a young friend about to be married—the wisest looking man was a bank director—the prettiest girl was a young quaker. The most egregious fool—here I am at a loss,—this honor was divided among several candidates. The most out-landish man was a dandy—the most gossiping was a lounge—the most dogmatick, a parson—the most pompous, a lawyer—the most learned, in his own opinion, a doctor—the most dignified, a dancing master. The

happiest of the whole group was the ash-man, lording it over his mound of the decomposed essences of mortality—dust and ashes; careless and contented, whistling in the cloud that enveloped him, as little affected by the din and clamour and vanity and folly of the scene around him, as the Mohawk chief in Drury-Lane.

The Red Book incorporated many of the stock devices and comic conventions of the English periodical essay which had been long since naturalized and hackneyed in *Salmagundi* and the *Portfolio*. The mock epistles, counterfeit erudition, and essays on sentiment were couched in a style that persistently echoed Addison and Steele. Allegories and parodies were varied with sketches after the manner of the seventeenth-century "character" ("A Full Length Portrait of Mr. Dunder") and with efforts to temper wit with morality ("Letter to a Young Lady"). The old philosopher, Mr. Bronze, endowed by Kennedy with a sentimental past and a quaint air of detachment, was a lineal descendent of Sir Roger de Coverley, but influenced perhaps by William Wirt's *Old Bachelor*. An imaginary travel sketch such as "Voyage to the Underworld" was not only reminiscent of *Gulliver's Travels* stylistically, but coolly borrowed several Swiftian episodes in describing a Laputa-like subterranean country. Perhaps the cleverest contribution was a series of spirited verse satires by Cruse under the title "Horace in Baltimore." Although Cruse knew his Roman poetry, he knew James and Horace Smith's *Horace in London* much better. Even though the topical and personal allusions are lost, the odes retain considerable verve and wit. The ode, "To Fashion," in the first number of *The Red Book*, is characteristic.

Bright dame! who sweep'st with Cashmere vest
 Thro' halls another's cash has furnish'd,
 My *plumed* lance is in the rest,
 And my satirick armour burnish'd.
 I cannot see without a frown
 Knaves, fools and coxcombs all thy passion;
 Fast as some rogue of note goes down,
 Some ass of merit takes his station.

* * * *

Shall Wealth and Thou to Chloe bring
 A score of beaux the dunce to flatter?
 Shall Delia round the bowing ring
 Deal out impertinence for satire?

Shall Bauble from his empty pate
 Unmark'd his windy trifles vent,
 And wealthy Dunder walk sedate
 In all the pride of "cent. per cent.?"

No! if to me the Red Book yield
 A place upon its honest pages,
 My Quixote muse shall take the field
 Careless what *windmill* she engages.
 Mere windmills all thy doughtiest sons,
 That veer with every veering blast:
 The noisy thing its circle runs,
 But bursts too oft its sails at last.

Apparently Kennedy wrote the prose and Cruse the poetry: "Horace [Cruse] disdains to speak save in rhyme; looking down on us *provers* with the same sort of tranquil scorn with which a wholesale man contemplates a retailer in Market Street. He is indeed a veritable poet, 'married to immortal verse,' unlikely to adventure on any other sort of matrimony." Many of the puns and epigrams, however, were probably the result of literary communism, a collaboration of youth, wine, and cigars at stag revels in St. Paul Street.

In the literary careers of John Kennedy and Peter Cruse, *The Red Book* marks a summit of youthful high spirits. It did not really matter if the wisdom was merely aphorism and the humor only impudence. The authors had captured an audience and had experienced the ecstasy of print. If the scope of the papers was narrow and the characters only types, what Cruse and Kennedy did was accomplished with vivacity, and if their achievement was modest, they could reply that they had aimed at nothing more. *The Red Book* revealed how steeped the authors were in the literature of coffee-house London and how sedulously they had aped their models. The picture of Baltimore society was limited but authentic, circumscribed by a literary convention and without interpretative depth. Except for an occasional comic thrust at the depressed financial condition of the country owing to the bank crash of 1819, the authors did not venture beyond the confining walls of a Gay Street drawing room or the fashionable section of the Market Street promenade. Yet, and the fact is not without significance, there was no trace of that anti-Anglican bias and arrogant assertion of cultural independence which vitiated

so much periodical writing of the time like a neurosis of inferiority. Men like James Kirke Paulding complained to Kennedy that "our literary taste is but the reaction, the mere echo across the Atlantic."²² Kennedy and Cruse, however, seem not to have felt it necessary to challenge the British sneer, "who reads an American book?," and the fact argues the independence and brash self-assurance, rather than the insularity, of the Baltimore intellectual climate.

It did matter, however, if Boston read Baltimore books, and the young men rushed the first volume of *The Red Book* to that city for review. From the heights of the New England Parnassus, Andrews Norton confessed himself faintly troubled by the irreverent tone he discovered in its allusions to Scripture and grumbled over the impurities of its Greek but, all things considered, he managed to "pronounce a favorable judgment." Edward Everett, editor of the *North American Review*, found the little volume bursting with talent and regretted that it was not the policy of his journal to review periodicals. Everett envied them the growing size of Baltimore for, he complained, in Boston a writer must be more prudent lest he offend an acquaintance.²³

Cruse and Kennedy announced twelve numbers of *The Red Book* and after the appearance of the sixth in January, 1820, they promised to resume after a six-weeks' vacation. The first issue of the second volume duly appeared for sale at the "Circulating Library" March 3, 1820, and was followed by two more at intervals of about a month, but there was a noticeable decline in quality. Alas! these two young men really did not have much to say and they had exhausted their heavy ammunition in the first volleys. A year passed without further publication, but so intense was the interest aroused that speculation persisted as to the identity of the authors. Finally the publisher, Joseph Robinson, suggested issuing a tenth number in which the authors should take a half-merry, half-grave leave of their public, momentarily rekindle enthusiasm, alarm their foes, and end with the promised explosion. Then with the sudden unmasking of the authors, "we may," Cruse reminded Kennedy, "live a little day of *bagatelle* glory once more."²⁴

²² J. K. Paulding to Kennedy, June 10, 1832. Kennedy Papers.

²³ Andrews Norton to Kennedy and Cruse, July 24, 1820; Edward Everett to Cruse and Kennedy, June 26, 1820. Kennedy Papers.

²⁴ Cruse to Kennedy, Jan. 9, 1821. Kennedy Papers.

Kennedy agreed, but he was probably bored with the scheme and glad to have done with it. *The Red Book*, he knew, had slight claim to immortality even though, as these punsters boasted, "it possesses the advantage, that let the world slight it as it may, it will always be *red*." Kennedy had found another enthusiasm; he had embarked on a new career. On October 4, 1820, at the age of twenty-four, he was elected a representative from Baltimore to the Maryland House of Delegates.²⁵ Politics was a novelty and its rewards were more tangible than the baubles of bagatelle glory among the local litterateurs. Cruse, also, believed "it is certainly time for us to be doing something better than writing R. Books."²⁶ The tenth and last number, made up chiefly of poems by Cruse, appeared March 16, 1821, and it was Cruse who wrote the valedictory of *The Red Book*.

But go! you idle, insect thing;
You brought some honey with your sting,
More merriment than trouble:
Like other things that aim at *style*,
'Twas yours to soar and shine awhile,
A breath-inflated bubble.

²⁵ *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1820.

²⁶ Cruse to Kennedy, Jan. 9, 1821. Kennedy Papers.

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877

By CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR.

BY early August of 1877 "the most extensive and deplorable workingmen's strike" ever to take place "in this or any other country"¹ was over, less than three weeks after it had begun. Railroad employees, and their sympathizers among canal men, miners, box makers, sawyers, and longshoremens, who were allowed to reclaim their jobs were reporting again for work. Only the intractable anthracite miners, many of them in the railways' captive pits, held out in Eastern Pennsylvania. Respectable people were relieved that the "first gun of the Commune" had been silenced, the eruption of the "labor volcano" controlled, "the insurrection" suppressed.² In seven states Federal troops relaxed their vigil, and in these and others, state militia slowly disbanded. Ten major and several small railroads, mainly eastern trunk lines, triumphantly began running their trains on time and, happily for speculators and investors, the prices of railway securities remained high.³ A score of rail terminals, relay and marshaling centers, meanwhile, counted more than a hundred trainmen, laborers, bystanders, and tramps dead, and uncounted hundreds were injured or wounded. Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Reading, Scranton and a dozen smaller communities calculated property damage in millions of dollars, surveyed destruction in their midst and remembered hours of violence and terror. With the strike over, however, there was time to reflect on the tragedy.

Armed with hindsight, observers easily detected the tinder that had fed the holocaust of July and August, for 1877 started off as

¹ Editorial in *The Nation*, July 26, 1877.

² See Allan Pinkerton, *Strikes, Communists, Tramps, and Detectives* (London, 1878), p. 147. *Baltimore American*, July 23, 1877. *The Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (1877), 415.

³ *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 1877.

a year of deep disturbances. As background for the pervasive atmosphere of alarm there loomed the great political event itself. In March, amid electoral frauds and railroad lobbying, sectional logrolling and personal bargains—all linked with expectations of civil conflict—the disputed presidential contest was finally compromised and Rutherford Hayes was uneasily installed in the White House. The nation, the compromise, and the Republican economic policies over which Hayes presided, however, were not more secure. Nor could they have been. Currency agitation, strikes, business failures, and agricultural unrest continued.⁴ Although a handful of Molly Maguires, the very symbols of social disorder, was hanged in June, their departure reminded many men of "dangerous classes" and of the industries packed with social dynamite. Hence when General Sherman told New York's Chamber of Commerce that American government could not subsist without the Army, that without this force the people would become another mob, it was hard to tell, given the times, whether this was special pleading for Army appropriations or a prophetic warning.⁵

Overriding other causes of crisis, nonetheless, were two harsh facts: the nation was entering its fourth year of hard times, and the country's major industrial interests, the railroads, were complaining that the depression was proving to be an unsupportable incubus.

Whatever achievements or shortcomings historians may attribute to particular railroads, several things were true of the railroad industry generally in 1877.

First, all roads had complex financial problems which they had not mastered. There were difficulties, despite generous subsidies, in meeting construction costs and in some places making lines pay, difficulties in competing with rival roads and pernicious practices, difficulties resulting from the then merely debatable practice of stock watering, from over-capitalization, from unwise speculation and investment.

Second, railroad relations with several important groups were on the whole bad. Many stockholders had been swindled or treated with irresponsible disregard. Numerous farmers were still

⁴ For general background see, C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction* (Boston, 1951).

⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, July 23, 1877, citing the General's speech of May. Also, see *American*, June 22, 1877.

opposed to rate and storage policies, and granger agitation remained significant. Certain business interests, too, such as Mid-western grain dealers or small mine operators in Eastern coal fields, feared the roads' privileged position as carriers. And, not the least of the dissident groups were workingmen who under duress of the depression protested against what they considered high-handed, patronizing, or paternalistic policies of railway managers and the "unfairness" of company wage and promotional plans.

Third, despite, or perhaps because of special privileges from chartering states, railroad leaders seldom questioned their rights to the exercise of great power. There were few of them who did not regard themselves as free to interpret the economic laws of the day to suit their predilections or as entitled to serve as masters and guardians of the nation's economic destiny.

Fourth, and finally, the railroads wielded in state and national circles a political as well as an economic influence that was probably second to none. Indeed, it was so vast that Henry Adams would later suggest, and William Allen White would confirm, that a whole generation and many of its legislators, for better or for worse, were figuratively mortgaged to the railroads.⁶

The history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it was once noted, could be divided into three stages: "before Garrett, Garrett, and after Garrett."⁷ Certainly John W. Garrett impressed both his friends and his enemies enormously, and this was not due solely to his great physical bulk. In many respects Garrett almost fits the stereotype of the "captain of industry:" dynamic among his peers, commanding, forceful and resourceful in the face of problems. During the war he participated in Lincoln's cabinet meetings and a high valuation was placed on his services to the Union. Afterwards, under his aegis the B & O was weaned away from possession by the State of Maryland. Its empire was ex-

⁶ On the preceding points see, *Final Report of the Industrial Commission* (Washington, 1902), XIX, 259-481. *U. S. Senate Committee upon the Relations between Labor and Capital* (Washington, 1885), I, 317, 605-610, 1080-1083; II, 469-500, 746-747, 964-981. *U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1887. Strikes and Lockouts* (Washington, 1888), pp. 1067-1072. Thomas Cochran, *Railroad Leaders: 1845-1890* (Cambridge, 1953). Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1928), p. 240. *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York, 1946), pp. 149, 177-178, 184-185. Stewart Holbrook, *The Story of American Railroads* (New York, 1947).

⁷ Edward Hungerford, *Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), I, 323.

tended to the Mississippi, then beyond to Chicago, and out of its shops at Mt. Clare and its technical school came engines and engineers that are still the pride of the railroad industry. Furthermore, under Garrett's direction the B & O increased its pre-eminence as the first industry of the State. Merely in the process of operating the road its president exerted an influence as great as that of any other individual in Maryland.⁸

In the summer of 1877 John Garrett's policies represented a series of reactions against the depression. Succinctly, they might be described as encompassing retrenchment and economy. Pursuing this course, the B & O announced on Monday, July 11, that a ten per cent wage reduction would become effective the following week. Four of its competing roads, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, the Erie and Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Northern Central Railroad, had previously announced their wage cuts. Only George Wilkins, superintendent of the latter road, a small line which ran into Baltimore, felt any compulsion to explain to his men in advance why the step was essential.⁹

B & O reductions, to be sure, affected all employees, including company officers, but they were designed primarily to require workingmen to carry their share of the depression burden. Although the B & O's daily wage rate was lower than the Pennsylvania Railroad's, for instance, company officials felt that despite earlier cuts it still compared favorably with the earnings the men could command in other industries. They believed, moreover, that philanthropy and economy had already been too long combined. Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad spoke for the industry when he declared that "many establishments have been kept in operation simply that men might be employed . . . often . . . without one iota of profit to the owner," and he left no doubt that this was the case with the railroad companies. Many respectable men, viewing matters in this light, regarded the wage cuts as fair. "The only injustice a railroad can inflict on its men is *to neglect*

⁸ J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 449, 602, 661, 686, 693, 715. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, 402, 416, 517, 530, 656, 729-731. Brantz Mayer, *Baltimore: Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), p. 261.

⁹ For wage comparisons see *American*, July 17, 1877, and *Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Part III, Industrial Statistics* (Harrisburg, 1882), Vol. IX, 1880-1, 360-361. Hereafter cited as *Annual Report, Pa.*

paying them," wrote one prominent editor, while another argued that if corporations could not follow the dictates of the market they would be ruined. Among the rare dissenting voices raised was that of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., whose association with the railroad industry was as intimate as John Garrett's or Tom Scott's. His call for a ten per cent *increase* in wages, nevertheless, came too late.¹⁰

Whatever the wisdom of Garrett's decision, he undoubtedly realized that it entailed a measure of risk. The effects of wage cuts within the industry were known to every manager. On February 12, for example, reductions drove engineers and firemen off their jobs with the Boston and Maine Railroad. There was not any trouble breaking the strike, but it so crippled industries in parts of New England that the Massachusetts Railroad Commission planned a conference on the subject of profits, wages, and employee relations. Ironically, invitations were to have gone out on July 16th, the day the great rail strike began.¹¹

The lowering of wages on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, as President Garrett knew, had likewise been a source of trouble. In March, engineers and firemen had asked Franklin Gowen's general manager for a twenty per cent increase in pay to compensate for earlier cuts. The company refused to bargain on grounds that the request emanated from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, an organization allegedly behind the Boston and Maine strike, and it set out to destroy this body entirely. Actually the Brotherhood was a provident society whose conservative president, Peter Arthur, had squelched thirteen potential strikes by its members since 1876. Faced with the choice of either abandoning the union or being fired, however, seventeen per cent of the Philadelphia and Reading men struck. Since the labor market was crowded with unemployed men there was no delay in replacing them.¹²

Finally, President Garrett had evidence of the Pennsylvania Railroad's experience in wage cutting. When on June 1 President Scott announced the second ten per cent reduction since 1873, a

¹⁰ Thomas Scott, "The Recent Strikes," *North American Review*, CXXV (Sept., 1877), 351-362. *The Nation*, Aug. 30, 1877. *American*, July 17, 1877. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.

¹¹ *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 317-324. *The Nation*, Sept. 6, 1877.

¹² *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal* (Oct., 1877), XII, 463. *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 317-324.

number of distressed engineers waited on him. While Scott persuaded this group to continue working, the proposed cut provoked the formation of the Trainmen's Union at Allegheny City on June 2. Led by the Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Fort Wayne Railroad brakeman, Robert Ammon, organizers were soon recruiting members on five eastern trunk lines including the B & O. Preparations were made for a strike against these lines on June 27 but railway officials learned of the union plans and wrecked them before they matured. The abortion of the strike may well have proved as painful to the people of Pittsburgh three weeks later as would its birth, for the defeated men nursed their frustrations.¹³

In brief, Garrett realized wage cuts added to workingmen's hardships, provoked strikes, and had stimulated the growth of one union and the formation of another. Similarly it was evident that the strikes, short as they were, could be costly to the roads involved and the public. On the other hand, the strikes had been speedily broken and the men easily replaced. There was every reason to assume that labor lacked unity and was, thanks to the depression, amenable to company discipline. Setbacks of the railroad unions indicated that he not only had little to fear from them but might possibly have the opportunity to destroy them utterly.¹⁴ Character, predilections, and the experiences of the railway industry, all led John Garrett to expect that he could master events, that there would be no serious trouble for the B & O. He was mistaken; there was serious trouble. Ultimately his judgment was vindicated insofar as he successfully regained control of the situation, but only after his railroad and society had paid a heavy price.

Evidence indicates, contrary to all past accounts, that the great rail strike did not begin in Martinsburg, West Virginia. It started, rather, at Camden Junction, two miles from Baltimore where the old main stem to Mt. Clare connected with the Washington line—a critical point through which passed all trains leaving Baltimore for Washington or the West. Shortly before noon, Monday, July 16, the day the B & O wage cut was to become effective, the

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-324. For descriptions of events in Pennsylvania see *Pennsylvania: Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate the Railroad Riots in July, 1877*: Legislative Doc. 29, pp. 1-1,000. Also see the highly colored account by J. A. Dacus, *Annals of the Great Strikes* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 89-143.

¹⁴ Almont Lindsay, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1942), p. 7. Lindsay suggests that managers of the eastern roads felt 1877 an auspicious time to destroy the "powerful Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" which I think makes too much of their concern with the union.

fireman on Engine 32 deserted his train at this junction and other firemen soon joined him. While company agents quickly hired replacements, the strikers remained nearby to persuade their comrades to leave the trains idle.

Whatever the nature of the threats hurled, nothing more serious than a minor scuffle ensued at Camden Junction, and there was only a brief delay in the despatching of freights. Nevertheless, relying on the support of Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe,¹⁵ the railroad called in a large force of police. Three strikers were arrested for threatening a riot, a charge which at the time appeared so ridiculous that the men retained no counsel, and police, unsure of their ability to sustain the charge, deferred trial. Additional police were meanwhile stationed strategically along the route from Camden Station to Relay. Beyond their jurisdiction at this last point, City police were ordered away the next day by an indignant Howard County judge. Anxious to nip the strike in the bud, however, the B & O responded by invoking obscure charter rights, whereby it commissioned these City employees as special railway constables and returned them to their posts—a maneuver the press immediately questioned.¹⁶

Throughout the day and into Monday evening, railroad officers, with the police on the alert, remained cheerfully confident despite groups of strikers who loitered near Camden Junction and the Riverside Station in South Baltimore. Before leaving the office for the day the B & O's First Vice President John King, Jr., met with Governor Carroll who felt no troops were needed at the moment. Vice President King then published one further announcement by the company restating and justifying its new wage policy, though this had no mollifying effect upon the men. Thirty-eight unconvinced engineers, in fact, soon joined hands with the striking firemen, and by 6:00 P.M. Baltimore box makers, sawyers, and fruit can makers, unable to secure their wage demands, threw in their lot with the railroad men. Whatever this portended, however, all was peaceful. Passenger trains ran unmolested and before 6:00 P.M. fifteen freight trains in three convoys moved out onto the line.¹⁷

¹⁵ For Latrobe's connections with the B & O see *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (New York, 1912), II, 396-398.

¹⁶ *American*, July 17, 18, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 728-729.

¹⁷ *American*, July 17, 18, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877.

Although these occurrences were intrinsically insignificant, they were revealing. First, and most obviously, the strike was a spontaneous protest of individuals against what they believed to be hard conditions and high-handed methods. Nothing sustains contentions that unionists, as such, played any part in it at all, nor is there cause for claiming the strike in Baltimore, or elsewhere on the line somewhat later, came off as a preconcerted arrangement."¹⁸ Far beyond the narrow ambit of the unions, discontent ran wider and deeper than the complacent realized.

Second, despite the attention they received from the press and later historians, wages were not the only, or narrowly speaking, even the main issue. The strikers nurtured a host of accumulated grievances. The ten per cent reduction was indeed a serious blow, but many of the men, pitifully eager to hold their jobs in the depression, would have taken the cut obediently—except for other circumstances. If, for instance, they could have worked full time, the reduction would have been bearable. As it was, many were getting only two or three days work per week. Firemen and brakemen, moreover, having ridden their trains out on the line were often unable to return at once. They were not allowed to come back to Baltimore as passengers on other trains, for the B & O refused to issue them passes. Consequently, until they caught freight work, which was not plentiful in slack times, they were left miles out to purchase their own board and food on already trimmed wages. Coupled with the company's arbitrary classification of engineers and firemen, its promotion policies, its lack of security provisions, and the extraordinary hazards of the railway industry itself at that time, the desperation of the men is understandable.¹⁹

Third, and very significantly, railroad officials in dealing with the strike even in its earliest hours displayed a hair-trigger willingness to call in the authorities and an enormous confidence in their ability to manipulate them to serve company policy.

Toward 9:00 P.M. Monday matters grew more serious. The B & O's superintendent of telegraph received dispatches from Martinsburg, West Virginia, indicating that the strike had spread

¹⁸ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 164, 197. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-76.

¹⁹ See, *American*, July 17, 18, 1877; *Sun*, July 26, 1877; *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (1877), 448 citing the *Baltimore Gazette* on aspects of the issues.

there. Six hours by train from Baltimore, Martinsburg was an important relay station where engines and crewmen changed off. Late Monday evening more than a score of firemen deserted their engines, apparently after learning of events at Camden Junction from westbound crews. Reports arriving at Camden Station had it that a riot ensued when loyal men refused to join the strike. In addition it was reported that A. P. Shutt, the town mayor, was trying to arrest the strike's ringleaders and that crowds were growing so large that it was impossible to move freights through the yards. Up to 9:00 P.M. there were no reports of damage. Nevertheless, John King, Jr., the B & O first vice president, was alerted at his home, Chestnut Hill, and by 11:30 P.M. he was back in his office at Camden Station. Mr. King was not a man to waste time. He immediately telegraphed Governor Henry Mathews of West Virginia apprising him of the "riot" in Martinsburg, of the fact that local authorities could not suppress it. In view of this situation he asked the Governor to call out the militia to protect B & O property and to enable the company to get its trains running on schedule.²⁰

Since affairs at Martinsburg had serious repercussions elsewhere, it is worth analyzing the decision to call out the West Virginia militia. What was the evidence at Camden Station of a "riot" in Martinsburg? There were no reports of actual arrests or casualties, and the reports stressed that there was no property damage. Since John King telegraphed Governor Mathews less than an hour after his return to Camden Station, no time was lost investigating the situation up the line. It was far from definite that freights were impossible to get out, for the Martinsburg authorities had made no strong attempts to move them. Despite John King's claim that he needed the militia to enable "trains" to run, only eastbound freights were not moving, and there was no way of telling how westbound freights would fare because reports of the strike at Martinsburg and a storm at Harpers Ferry kept them in Baltimore. Apparently, too, the strikers' actions showed that this was a freightman's strike against their particular lot. Crowds, threats, and scuffling there certainly was, but these

²⁰ *American*, July 17, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877. George McNeill, *The Labor Movements: The Problem of Today* (Boston, 1888), pp. 154-155. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 728-729. *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 324-325. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

things hardly suggest the work of an irrational mob, or that the men were beyond the call of reason or compromise.

It appears highly probable, moreover, that Mayor Shutt was eager to pass the responsibility for law enforcement onto the shoulders of higher authorities. In fairness it must be said the evidence is circumstantial. Nevertheless the Mayor's actions look like a reaction against his most unenviable position. As mayor of a one industry town, he was dependent on the goodwill of both the strikers and the railway officials, and was perhaps embarrassed by the fact that he and his son owned the Berkeley House, Martinsburg's main hotel, which derived its business from the railroad.

At a higher level, Governor Mathews likewise responded to the B & O summons with alacrity and without more than a cursory examination of the Martinsburg affair. His position was no happier in these circumstances, in fact, than Mayor Shutt's. An ex-Confederate and a Democrat, Mathews was new to office in a state where the B & O was a major economic and political power enjoying numerous special privileges. Whatever may appear to have motivated Governor Mathews, however, it is clear that word from a top official of the railroad stung him to action. Colonel C. J. Faulkner of the Beverly Light Infantry Guards, the Governor's aide-de-camp, received orders to go to Martinsburg and restore order not long after midnight. Somewhat confused about the chain-of-command, Faulkner then telegraphed railroad officers at Camden Station at 1.00 A.M. (Tuesday) that he would obey his orders.²¹

The determination to invoke state authority and use state troops set still more unfortunate events in motion. Early Tuesday, Faulkner's militia arrived in Martinsburg. No precise description of occurrences thereafter is possible but a few things are unmistakably clear and a few others excite curiosity. Two attempts were made during the morning to test the temper of the strikers and to move freights. The first, conducted by Faulkner and volunteer railroad workers, resulted in the fatal shooting of a striker and the wounding of a militiaman at a ball switch, and Faulkner abandoned his attempt; the second, led by the B & O superin-

²¹ On the foregoing paragraphs see, *American*, July, 18, 19, 1877; *Sun*, July 18, *Movement: The Problem of Today* (Boston, 1888), pp. 154-155. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729-731; McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

tendent of trains fared no better, although there was no violence. A large number of trains and cars had piled up at the relay point. These things are clear.

The materials that arouse curiosity are rumors on Tuesday and press reports the next day, that Faulkner and his men were "in sympathy" with the strikers. Exactly what did *sympathy* mean? Reports that Faulkner and the West Virginia Guard had gone over to the strikers do not appear to be true. There may have been a few defections but neither Faulkner nor the rest of the command joined the railway workers at any time. Furthermore, Colonel Faulkner had made two efforts to move freights, and on one occasion a militiaman had not hesitated to fatally wound a striker. Finally, no court martial was ever convened to charge the Colonel or his men with desertion or insubordination. Faulkner probably felt that, while his force was adequate if he wanted to shoot matters out, this would result in unnecessary bloodshed, and better alternatives were still open to him. His force was in no danger. It was a railroad strike, not a civil rebellion, consequently he may have considered it wiser to await reinforcements to make it simpler to overawe the crowd peacefully. In the interim there was a good chance that things might cool down. In short, he plainly wanted time. Railway officials in Baltimore and Martinsburg, on the other hand, probably felt that Faulkner's real failure lay in trying to speak to the crowd and in not moving vigorously enough with his available force. The Baltimore press, which got much of its news from the railroad, commented not only on the sympathies of the militia but also on their "inefficiency."²²

On Tuesday and Wednesday pressure rapidly mounted among the sleepless B & O officials in Baltimore and at Martinsburg to break the strike. Trouble, as the newspapers called it, had reached Grafton and Keyser on the B & O line in West Virginia by Tuesday afternoon, while at Cumberland, Maryland, an assemblage of unemployed men denounced capitalists and bondholders. Governor Mathews had entrained at 1:00 P.M. Tuesday from Wheeling to go to these sensitive points in West Virginia with sixty-five militiamen. He had earlier telegraphed Baltimore, however, about the inadequacy of militiamen at Martinsburg, and company officials were fearful that sixty-five additional men could

²² *American*, July 18, 19, 20, 1877. *Sun*, July 18, 19, 1877. Allan Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729-731. Dacus, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-36.

not guard their property. In Baltimore strikers had been orderly and police at Riverside and Mt. Clare experienced no difficulty. But early Tuesday morning an engine was derailed near Spring Gardens and, despite a complete lack of evidence, sabotage was rumored. Furthermore, several hundred trainmen who were still faithful to the company held a mass meeting at Sharp and Montgomery Streets. Moderation prevailed and they disassociated themselves even from sympathy for the men in Martinsburg. Nevertheless, they promised that unless the B & O was conciliatory about grievances, they would select their time carefully and leave the company in the lurch. Finally, as if to add to these evil omens, a meeting between Governor Mathews, Vice President Keyser and General Sharp, B & O master of transportation, on the one side and the strikers on the other, in both Grafton and Martinsburg, failed. No compromise was offered the men and exhortations did not seem an acceptable substitute.

The tough-minded, ex-Confederate B & O master of transportation, General Sharp, in company with other road officials, thereupon persuaded Governor Mathews to request Federal troops from President Hayes.²³

Because of their seriousness, the dispatches to Washington merit comment. Governor Mathews' first telegram to President Hayes spoke of "unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and other points" along the B & O line and of the need for troops to "protect the law-abiding people of the State against domestic violence, and to maintain the supremacy of the law." On behalf of the President, Secretary of War McCrary wired Governor Mathews that Mr. Hayes "is averse to intervention unless it is clearly shown that the State is unable to suppress *the insurrection*."²⁴ The Governor was told to "furnish a full statement of facts." The full statement of facts sent back to Washington was a telegram of eighty-six words which alleged the sympathy of the militia for the strikers at Martinsburg, stated the indisposition of other militia companies and concluded that there were "no organized militia in the State." Of the strike's course or of specific events in West Virginia there was no factual description whatsoever.²⁵

²³ *American*, July 19, 20, 1877. *Sun*, July 19, 20, 1877. McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157. Edward Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 323 ff.

²⁴ Italics mine.

²⁵ Cited in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 730-731. *American*, July 19, 20,

Such was the official intelligence that persuaded Federal authorities to employ national forces, a precedent that had far-reaching consequences in the next fifteen years. No doubt strikers illegally infringed on B & O property. Yet when these dispatches were sent to Washington there had been no violence, no casualties, and no injuries since the shooting at Martinsburg in the early morning. While coupling pins had been lifted by strikers at Martinsburg, and threats of injury hurled against men on trains, no company property had been damaged or even seriously tampered with. Loyal men were verbally intimidated but they were not attacked or beaten. If the Secretary of War was under the impression that there was an insurrection, he was mistaken—it was still a strike. Since Governor Mathews was able to make several arrests later on the 18th, how seriously was the supremacy of the law impaired? How urgently did "law abiding people of the State," other than the B & O, need protection against "domestic violence"? How anxious was Governor Mathews to use his powers responsibly and to what extent was he embarrassed by it?

Meanwhile, shortly after Governor Mathews' first telegram to Federal authorities, John Garrett re-entered the picture to buttress the Governor's words with his own lengthier telegram to President Hayes. Garrett also cited the impossibility of moving freights and the open intimidation of and "attacks" on loyal employees. Unless this ceased, he told the President, he apprehended "the greatest consequence . . . upon all lines in the country which, like ourselves, have been obliged to introduce measures of economy in these trying times for the preservation of the effectiveness of railway property." Resuming his old wartime demeanor he then asked the President to keep him informed of the points through which troops would be sent so that there would be no delay, suggested Fort McHenry and Washington as the best starting points, and asked for immediate action so as to "prevent the rapid increase" of "the difficulties." John Garrett's action has not been challenged seriously in subsequent years,²⁶ hence it is worth indicating that at least one railway officer took a dim view of it after the strike was over. "The President of the Baltimore and Ohio Company," wrote H. C. Lord, "ignores both the authority and

1877. *Sun*, July 19, 20, 1877. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1898), VII, 446-448.

²⁶ See, for instance, Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 730-731.

ability of the States of Maryland and West Virginia to enforce their own laws, invites the interference of the Federal Government and with characteristic modesty suggests to the President of the United States what he should do under the circumstances."²⁷

Whatever the propriety of John Garrett's telegram, it was effective. President Hayes issued his proclamation and sent troops on the 18th, and eight companies of men under General French arrived the following morning at Martinsburg. There was some difficulty locating *the insurrection*, for the soldiers and strikers met in good humor, laughing and joking with one another in the morning rain. The Army reported no violence and soon announced that it could move trains without any *physical* obstacles to stop them. Only engineers were required to get things rolling. Unfortunately even with troopers alongside the trains, these men did not come forth.²⁸ The alleged insurrection was still an unbroken strike against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Because decisions along the B & O line were inseparably linked with the actions and mistakes of railroad, civil, and military authorities, they caused reverberations up and down the road and across the nation. Gathering force, they culminated in the tragic Baltimore Riots of July 20-21 following the actions on the situation at Cumberland.

The "Communitistic madness," as Allan Pinkerton described it, leaped from Martinsburg to Cumberland during Wednesday night, July 18. Disgruntled miners, Chesapeake and Ohio canal men, rail strikers, and their reinforcements from West Virginia and the Pittsburgh area were reported gathering there. Numbering five or six hundred, they were supposedly "armed with every conceivable weapon." Eruption of the strike at Pittsburgh on Thursday emboldened them, while dispatches about Federal troops and John Garrett's paternal gesture to reward faithful employees incensed them.²⁹

Whatever its immediate spark, the first small riot resulting in serious property damage to the B & O occurred in the Cumberland Yards when box cars loaded with perishables were broken open on Friday. No one was hurt but it was a thoroughly lawless

²⁷ Reprinted from a letter to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* this criticism appeared in the *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (1877), 418-419.

²⁸ *American*, July 20, 1877.

²⁹ See, for instance, Garrett's announcement to his workers in the *American*, July 20, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

demonstration which Mayor Withers and local police would not or could not check. Railway officials believed serious trouble to be in the offing unless the Maryland National Guard was called out. In order to accomplish this objective, therefore, company leaders counseled at 3:00 P.M. Friday with Governor John Carroll at Barnum's Hotel.³⁰

Governor Carroll had already been placed under pressure to call up State troops. B & O officers had twice before during the strike urged him to do so. Less direct, though strong, pressures were also building up among businessmen and merchants, as well as the press, to put an end to the strike. The Governor had no trouble learning that "thousands of dollars were being lost every hour," that trade was being hurt by idled workers and strikers, that coal-oil refineries at Spring Gardens were facing difficulty, and that "not a few cattle, sheep, and hogs (in stalled freight cars) . . . were perishing of hunger and thirst."³¹

Yet the most formidable considerations placed before the Governor of Maryland were without question those of John W. Garrett. The historian of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad correctly assessed the relative positions of the Governors of Maryland and the President of the railroad when he wrote: "Garrett realized he must have a Governor who would be guided by him in all matters pertaining to the affairs of this great property [the B & O]. . . . To that end his agents were busily engaged in politics from one end of the State to the other and to the day of his death, the word of the President of the B & O was law to Governors, all state officials."³² In addition, Governor Carroll had another important interest in the safety of the road, for the State of Maryland in 1877 still possessed a large financial stake in it. Given his circumstances, and the fact that most of his information on the crisis came over the railroad's telegraph, Governor Carroll, on the whole, displayed commendable forbearance in the matter of using the National Guard—more, certainly, than the executives and officials of nearby states.

The decision to order out the Guard for service in Cumberland, at 3:30 P.M. Friday, was not without its ironies. Faced with a riot in Cumberland, the failure of local authority, and threats of

³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 19, 20, 1877. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 156. *Sun*, July 21, 1877.

³¹ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 732. *American*, July 19, 1877. H. E. Burcholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 212-230.

³² Edward Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 328.

worse things to come, swift, effective use of a trained militia might have curtailed damage or bloodshed. Unfortunately, while opportunities for service beckoned in Western Maryland, the regiments called up were unable to get there. The very fact that they were to be employed set the stage for further trouble, not in Cumberland but in Baltimore.

If its origins were in Cumberland, the immediate causes of the Friday rioting in Baltimore were a series of petty mistakes, the first of which was the manner in which the Fifth and Sixth Regiments were mustered. State and local officials realized that sympathy for the railroad strikers was widespread in Baltimore, that trouble might be aroused if excitement were generated by the mustering-in process. At first Governor Carroll refused to allow "Big Sam" and smaller fire bells to sound out the emergency military call. Nevertheless, General James Herbert, leader of the Guardsmen, was told by a subordinate that the emergency call would speed things up. Herbert and his staff prevailed upon the Governor again and he rather nebulously left the ringing of the 1-5-1 emergency signal to their discretion. Shortly after 6:00 P.M. Herbert, wishing to hurry things along, sounded the alarm. The bells pealed out at the worst imaginable time, as most of the City's men and boys were just leaving work, and crowds of the curious and the angry swarmed to the armories. At Camden Station where only a handful of people were congregated before the call, there were thousands in less than a half an hour.³³

Having passed uneventfully through the crowds near Camden Station with his staff, General Herbert ordered the Guard regiments to march from their armories to join him, but poor judgment marred the handling of the Sixth Regiment. Discipline in the Fifth, it must be noted, was good. Its leader, Captain Zollinger, less than a month earlier had instituted court-martial proceedings against militiamen who refused to take their training seriously, and his command obeyed him. Marching from Richmond Market, the Fifth was heavily stoned near Camden Street but it managed without shooting or injuring any of its attackers to get into the depot. A crowd of several thousand persons had meanwhile gathered before the Sixth Regiment Armory at Fayette and Front Streets, and elements in the mob began an assault.

³³ *American*, July 21, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 21, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 732-734. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Paving stones from a repaired gas line were thrown, incoming soldiers were mauled, and initial efforts by the troops to march out were turned back. Because of the many men detailed to guard railway properties, police at Central Station were unable to aid the militia, and no call for help from the Fifth Regiment appears to have gone out. Neither did officers of the Sixth think it wise to make a defense from within the Armory. Instead those companies supposed to entrain for Cumberland were piecemeal led out into the mob and were marched on separate routes to Camden Station. Inevitably a series of minor tragedies ensued. Tracked, stoned, believing themselves fired upon by the crowd, the frightened and separated companies, without orders, commenced firing at will. By the time they reached Camden Station in "demoralized" condition, it was discovered that none of their men was shot, and fewer were injured by stones than in the Fifth, but at least thirty-five of the mob, some mere bystanders, were casualties—ten of them dead.³⁴

Under the spires of the B & O headquarters in Camden Station, many of the civil, military, and railroad officials who had contributed to the events stretching back to the previous Monday were together in the subsequent hours of crisis: John King, Jr., and a staff of weary railroad officers, Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Governor Carroll, General Herbert, and police officials. Outside the Station was a threatening crowd of perhaps fifteen thousand people which reached from Camden Street on the north to Lee Street on the south. Inside there was much understandable confusion. The Mayor and the Governor almost immediately determined to retain the Guardsmen destined for Cumberland, though they probably could not have gone anyway, for there is evidence some tracks had already been torn up in Camden yards. Over the next critical hours it was not the militia, in any event, who kept the situation from becoming disastrous, but the police. Unable because of their dispersement to check the first incidents

³⁴ Descriptions of the Friday Riot are numerous, detailed, and confused. See, *American*, July 21, 22, 1877; *Sun*, July 21, and the Extra of July 22, 1877; Telegrams of G. Abell to Arunah Abell for July 21, 1877 in Maryland Historical Society; John Thomas to General William Barry, U. S. A., telegram 2:30 A.M., July 20 and 11:20 P.M., July 20, 1877 in *Barry Papers*, Maryland Historical Society. Also see, Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 734-737; and Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 792-794. There is interesting, though confused, testimony on events in the hearings of the coroner's jury in Baltimore, cited in *American*, Aug. 4, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

at the Sixth Regiment Armory that had touched off the calamities earlier, they proved to be the sole effective force at Camden Station. At last, the policy of heavily guarding B & O property was bearing fruit.

A preparatory move by the B & O to call for the use of federal troops in Maryland began even prior to the rioting of 8:00 P.M., since at 4:00 P.M. John King, Jr. had telegraphed General William Barry at Fort McHenry, in behalf of U. S. Collector Thomas, asking that extra vigilance and a "sufficient guard" be used on U. S. Government *and* B & O bonded warehouses at Locust Point."³⁵ Fire on a passenger platform, destruction of a telegrapher's office and several engines and cars in the yards, plus the menace of the mob, by 10:00 P.M. made a direct appeal for Federal help irresistible. Governor Carroll, as a consequence, telegraphed President Hayes for aid.

The Governor's telegram bears scrutiny for it reflects an accumulation of pressures as well as the exigencies of the moment. President Hayes was informed that the rioters could not be dispersed with any force at Carroll's command, that they had "*taken possession* of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot, set fire to same, and *driven off all firemen* who attempted to extinguish the flames." Was that, indeed, the situation? The Governor had a large force of perhaps 300 to 350 policemen and militiamen at his command. Captain Zollinger's men had proven extremely competent and the press later spoke of the way policemen "*awed*" the crowd. No effort seems to have been made to employ the men in the depot as a force to drive off the rioters. Militiamen as a group were primarily spectators of events from the platforms and from inside the depot. Their presence angered the mob and Governor Carroll appeared unwilling to risk taking responsibility for using them to apply maximum force. Moreover, rioters had not "*taken possession*" of the depot. There were fires, to be sure, but firemen had with difficulty extinguished them.³⁶ Whatever questions may be raised by the Governor's action, it was politically astute. He had won time, spared himself grave and perhaps in-

³⁵ John King to Gen. Wm. Barry, telegram 4:00 P.M., July 20, 1877 in *Barry Papers*.

³⁶ Italics in all above quotations are mine. The dispatches are cited in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 737. Carroll's telegram on that page should be dated July 20 not July 28. *American*, July 21, 22, 1877. *Sun*, July 21, 22, 1877, Richardson, *op. cit.*, VII, 448.

humane decisions, and also followed railroad policy. How aware of this he was at the time, however, can never be known.

In perspective, Federal assent to Governor Carroll's request appears to have been the turning point in the course of the B & O strike. Support by Federal troops, first in West Virginia, then in Maryland, meant that the B & O could not lose the contest. Federal intervention in these critical states provided the key to railroad labor difficulties. It hardly mattered that the emergency at Camden Station was so short-lived that by 1:30 A.M. Saturday morning, less than three hours after the call for help went out, the mob had departed, or that Carroll modified his policy and announced the restoration of order at 3:00 A.M. before any Federal troops arrived.⁸⁷

During the next ten days the strike in Maryland slowly petered out. To be sure, Saturday evening (the 21st) brought another riot at Camden Station, attacks on railway property at several points in the City, and considerable damage. Likewise, the same night it inspired a number of dramatic telegrams from the authorities in the Station to General Barry at Fort McHenry. But with Federal power standing by, police handled the mob effectively and rounded up its ringleaders—none of whom were strikers—in droves. On Sunday between 1,200 and 2,000 Federal soldiers were concentrated in or near Baltimore, while local forces had been swelled by citizen recruits. That evening at 7:00 P.M. Arunah Abell, who was being kept alert to all developments, learned by wire that the worst was over and that public sentiment for law and order was being strongly asserted. Railroad officials, subsequently, had little trouble identifying public safety with the safety of railway property, or in manipulating Federal troops accordingly. When General French, commander of the Federal soldiers in Western Maryland, refused to be ordered about by Colonel Sharp, the B & O's master of transportation, and by company agents, he was replaced and thereafter all went well. Troops were kept busy by numerous incidents as they shuttled from place to place opening the line, but towards the end of the week, Vice President Keyser of the B & O, fully confident that the strikers were beaten, began explaining to them why the company could not yield to their demands. Baltimore businessmen

⁸⁷ G. Abell to Arunah Abell, telegram, July 22, 1877 in the Maryland Historical Society. *American*, July 21, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 736.

sensed a full settlement—and they were not disappointed. On the 25th all along the line men were coming back. The following Wednesday, August 1, John Garrett stated that nearly all lines were operative, and Thursday, with 125 trains on the B & O road, all was normal.³⁸

A local affair at its inception, the B & O strike influenced similar strikes in fourteen states. In two weeks it had assumed all the characteristics of a major national problem. A phenomenon of these proportions deserves some overall analysis.

Reviewing the courses pursued by railroad officials, it is evident that their intransigent stand on wages and grievances touched off, sustained, and prolonged the strike, that throughout the conflict their decisions were oriented around the persistent search for public authority sufficiently powerful to crush the strike without concessions.

This assuredly does not warrant conclusions, however, that the actions of these leaders were sinister, on the one hand, or a tough-minded defense of economic liberty on the other. Men's motivations and the strike itself were too complex to yield such simple judgments. More to the point, what must pass as public sentiment in 1877 was divided in its evaluation of the affair. As might have been expected, there was applause from financial and business interests for the position taken by the B & O and other embattled roads. Criticisms about these stands seemed to one editor merely a part of the "inevitable prejudice against corporations."³⁹ But sanction for railroad policy also came from liberal sources. *The Nation* declared editorially that, "What is to be feared is that through some weakness on the part of the companies, the strikers may come out of this struggle with an appearance of victory," adding, "We are not likely to see soon again a crisis in which liberty and civilization are both more at stake than they are now."⁴⁰ Conversely there was at least one vocal railroad official who believed that "the fault lies with the railway managers who have defied all established maxims . . . of business procedure . . . who have quarreled among themselves and inaugu-

³⁸ See accounts in *American* and *Sun*, July 22-Aug. 6, 1877; *Barry Papers*, July-August, 1877; *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 324-365; Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-364; McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162; *The Nation*, July 26, 1877; Telegrams of G. Abell to A. Abell in Maryland Historical Society.

³⁹ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.

⁴⁰ *The Nation*, July 26, 1877.

rated a policy . . . of rivalry and competition. destructive of the property they were pledged to protect," who "practice a false economy" and refuse to "reform themselves."⁴¹ On both sides there were mixed emotions and cherished principles.

Conclusions reached by a Pennsylvania legislative body after investigations of the strike in that State may well point up the dominant strain of thought elsewhere. To the suggestion that any corporation has the right to pay wages as it pleases, and to require such services for the money paid as it chooses, the investigators replied, "This rule must be received with considerable modification in the case of a great corporation, receiving special privileges from the State, and employing thousands of men scattered from one end of the State to another."⁴² Going a bit further in the same direction, a Republican State Convention in Ohio—where the B & O strike affected several cities—heard pleas for an end to reckless railway competition and adopted a plank calling for the assumption by Congress "of general supervisory authority over railroads."⁴³ In Pennsylvania, a Democratic Convention charged capital was too heavily favored in the nation and urged state control of railways.⁴⁴ It was years before these trends crystallized in practical form but in places like Cumberland where food grew short, in Baltimore where trade atrophied, or in Anne Arundel and other countries where melons and produce could not be shipped, men awoke to the growing interdependence of their lives.⁴⁵

Because of the rapidity and violence with which it grew, the strike momentarily revealed to nearly everyone the hardships not only of railway workers but of many others as well. Articulate people, including railroad leaders, all realized that the depression brought great suffering. Despite loose denunciations of the strikers as "communists" or of their actions as "war" and "insurrection," a Baltimore merchant probably expressed the more commonly held view when he declared: "The strike is not a revolution of fanatics willing to fight for an idea. It is a revolt of workingmen against low prices of labor which have not been

⁴¹ *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (Sept. 1877), 419.

⁴² *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 360.

⁴³ *The Nation*, Aug. 9, 1877.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1877.

⁴⁵ For instance see, *Sun*, July 26, 1877 and *American*, July 22, 26, 30, 1877.

accompanied with correspondingly low prices of food, clothing, and house rent." ⁴⁶

It by no means followed that recognition of suffering brought respect for the manner in which labor bore its cross. On the contrary, even among trade unionists, the opinion was almost unanimous that the strike was foolish and likely to increase the misery of the workingman's lot. Peter Arthur, leader of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers put the case very strongly, insisting railroad workers had "no cause for such a course," and charging that they had embarked upon a "cowardly policy" by taking "so powerful advantage as such dishonorable action would give." Moreover he threatened the expulsion of all engineers who joined the strikers and promised the public: "they shall be punished." ⁴⁷ From no quarter, of course, was there sanction for the "saturnalia of violence and pillage" that came in many places as a concomitant of the strike, nor did sympathizers with hardpressed workers hesitate to make it clear that pity for the rioter was "not incompatible with the sternness that meets him with bullets." ⁴⁸ Fortunately, before the strike was over, there was general agreement that the rioting was not the work of railroad men or of unionists (as arrests in Baltimore, for instance, proved) but the deed, rather, of congenital troublemakers and toughs. ⁴⁹

No conditions were more pitilessly bared to public scrutiny during the course of events than the divisions between workingmen. Despite risks and low wages the vast majority of railroad workers remained loyal to the B & O and other companies. It was the critical services of the men who struck, more than their number, that crippled the industry. Never did the companies have trouble hiring as many scabs as they wanted. The wonder is, in fact, that the stoppage of rail transportation was so complete. Furthermore, after the first days of the strike workingmen who had walked off their jobs stood friendless and alone. Given Peter Arthur's views above, there was scarcely any hope of real aid from his union and things were viewed no differently in the few other railway organizations of the day. A young official of the Locomotive Firemen's Union, Eugene Debs, confused and

⁴⁶ *Sun*, July 25, 1877.

⁴⁷ *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (Oct. 1877), 463.

⁴⁸ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.

⁴⁹ For example see *American*, July 23, 1877.

stung by events, cautioned organized firemen that "a strike at the present time signifies anarchy and revolution."⁵⁰ Even Robert Ammon, the Trainmen's leader whom Allan Pinkerton so heartily vilified, kept trains on his division running, and soon worked so closely with railroad and local officials that his men deposed him.⁵¹ What had begun as a strike of individuals remained so, and the price paid for courage and tenacity was discharge and the blacklist.

Serious as labor's disunity may have been, the public was made aware of the fact that the nation had produced a "native proletariat" and a labor problem that challenged constructive thinking. On August 30, as a result of the strike Charles Francis Adams, Jr., brought forward a program designed to remedy the railroads' neglect of adequate wage, promotion, or benefit policies. Several small Mid-western roads, fearing an outbreak of trouble, actually made concessions to their men and tried to improve their state, while the B & O, perhaps as a result of the strike, set up a relief and benefit department in 1880. Strife quite naturally raised discussion of industrial peace and there were a number of arbitration proposals, one of them proffered by the Baltimore *American* during and after the strike. Politicians were also stimulated to give labor more attention and there was a flurry of "reform" and "workingmen's" candidates in Baltimore and in other cities for the next few years. Inevitably there were a number of political welfare programs cast up. Congressman Hendricks Wright called upon his colleagues to appropriate ten million dollars for immediate distribution among needy workers. Greeted with derision, the plan would have seemed somewhat less ridiculous in the mid-nineteen thirties. Other proposals, of varying degrees of intelligence, sincerity, and practicality, called for the payment of minimum wages, profit-sharing, co-operation, and the creation of a National Bureau of Industry. Regardless of their intrinsic merit, and it was not invariably great, these ideas at least served as a temporary antidote to complacency.⁵²

Tested at all levels by the strike, Government became a major

⁵⁰ Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, 1949), p. 24.

⁵¹ *Annual Report. Pa. Part III, Vol. IX*, 345-347. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁵² *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 9, 16, 30, 1877. *American*, July 22, 25, 1877. *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (Oct. 1877), contained a variety of suggestions. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 741-743.

focus of debate. Controversy for the most part revolved around the extent of governmental inefficiency and failure. Since the railroads operated interstate empires and were forced to cope with an interstate strike, their managers and directors almost instinctively felt that local authorities were useless for railroad purposes. Well satisfied when Federal aid arrived, rail officials nevertheless deplored the time they had been obliged to wait. Doubtless speaking for many others in the industry, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad wrote after the strike that a larger and better dispersed Federal Army was essential and that Congress should provide a law permitting courts to issue injunctions or to call out Federal troops as soon as rail traffic was interfered with by "unlawful combinations." If Baltimore was typical, there were many other businessmen who showed surprising readiness to invite Federal interposition. Some observers challenged these approaches by reviving traditional fears of military usurpation, but there was wide agreement in Maryland and outside of the State as well, that civil government had proven a failure in the crisis, that police, despite yeoman service in Baltimore, were inadequate in numbers, and militiamen thoroughly unreliable. A few critics implied that railroads were, ironically, reaping what they had sown and blamed the anemia of the civil authorities on their selection and domination by rail chieftains. Practically no one commented on the surprising vigor displayed by law-abiding Baltimoreans and ordinary citizens elsewhere as they squelched rioting and buttressed civil order, nor on society's good fortune that the unrest was not directed against existing social and political institutions.⁵³

⁵³ See comments in the *Sun* and *American*, July 23-Aug. 6, 1877. *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 9, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 742. *Annual Report, Pa. Part III*, Vol. IX, 360-365.

BURLEIGH MANOR IN HOWARD COUNTY

By FRANCIS C. HABER *

THE NAME of Hammond is well-known to countless tourists and House and Garden "pilgrims" who have visited the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis. This outstanding example of the best in colonial American architecture was built by Matthias Hammond (1740-1786) between 1770 and 1774 for, it is said, a prospective bride who rejected him because he lavished more care and attention on the house than on his courtship. Less well-known, but another monument to the good taste in architecture of the Hammond family, is Burleigh Manor in Howard County, built by Colonel Rezin Hammond (1745-1809), brother of Matthias. It is about fifteen miles west of downtown Baltimore on U. S. Route 40 and a few miles south of Pine Orchard on Centennial Lane.

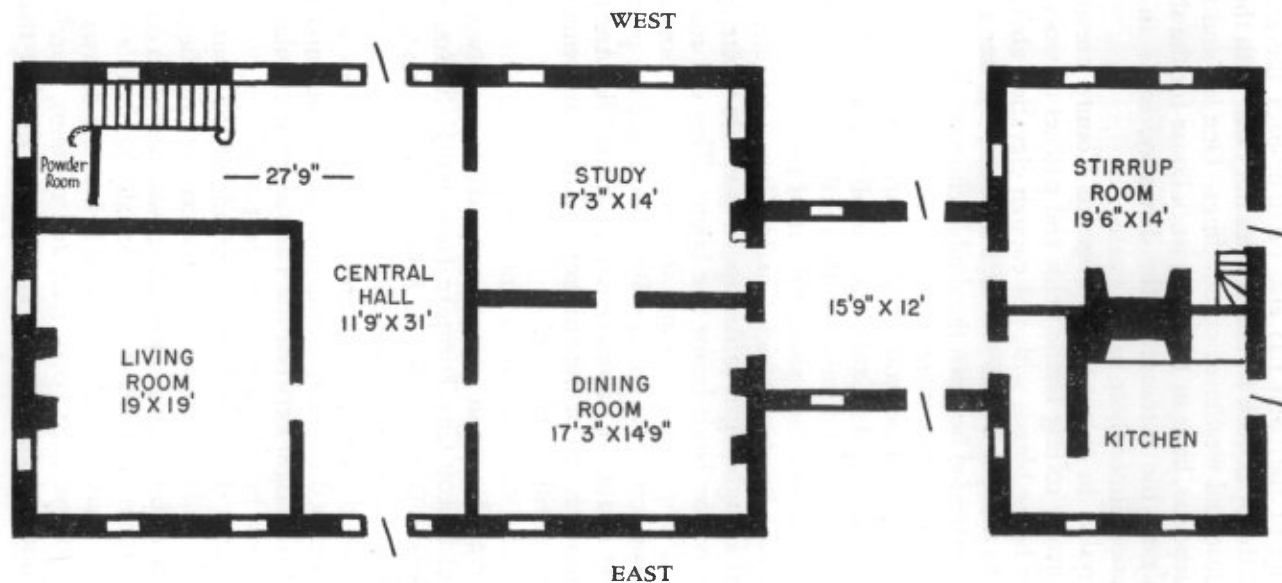
From Centennial Lane, the house, a full two-story brick building with one wing on the north side, is clearly visible through its surrounding shade trees. At some time in the past the brickwork was painted yellow. It is difficult to imagine how a bright coat of yellow could have improved the appearance of the house, but now that it has almost weathered away, in the sunlight the trace of yellow on the red bricks gives to the building a soft, mellow warmth. From a distance the brick appears as a subdued golden red which softens the texture of the building and its angular lines.

* The author wishes to express his appreciation to the many individuals who assisted him in the pursuit of information about Burleigh Manor. The present owners, Mr. and Mrs. George Dudley Iverson, merit special thanks for their whole-hearted cooperation. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who was President of the Board of Trustees of St. Timothy's School when it purchased Burleigh, kindly made records in his possession available and also gave many helpful suggestions. Miss Laura Hanna and Mrs. John Breckinridge also kindly lent materials in their possession. The expert architectural knowledge of John Henry Scarff was freely drawn upon, but he is not responsible for statements or expressions in the text. He does support the conviction that Burleigh house was built after 1800, however. The Hall of Records and the Land Office, as usual, were most helpful.

The weathering of the paint has also brought back the antique appearance of the brickwork so that it does not clash with the old stone meat house and weathered outbuildings. One log and stone building in particular, built in 1820 as a work house for the slaves, which stands near the entrance to the driveway, lends an ante bellum plantation atmosphere to the estate.

The countryside in this part of Howard County presents a panorama of gently rolling fertile fields and patches of woodland into which the house blends with just enough elevation above the nearby fields to mark it as the seat of the estate. At one time a captain's walk extended between the double chimneys of the main building, and from this vantage point, reached through the attic, most of the estate could be brought under surveillance. From the lawn, the lands of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's Doughoregan Manor can be seen in the distance on the northwest boundary. In the same direction, but closer, along a grove of trees, the outline of the Old Annapolis Road on which Charles Carroll traveled from his doorstep at Doughoregan to Annapolis is visible where it cuts diagonally across the lands below the house. This old road has been blocked off for many years and is now officially closed, but when the present house was built on Burleigh it was the principal highway to the estate. A driveway ran from the Old Annapolis Road up to the south end of the building and there are remains of this old driveway still in evidence.

Centennial Lane was laid out on a north-south line through the lands of Burleigh Manor in 1876 as a shorter route between the Clarksville and Ellicott City Turnpike (now old U. S. Route 29) and the Frederick Turnpike (U. S. Route 40). It passed about 800 feet to the east of the house and necessitated changing the main driveway to the east side. Maple and locust trees were set out to flank the new drive between the house and Centennial Lane. The driveway is straight between the Lane and the circular drive of the front lawn, but whether by accident or design, it runs to the northward at a slight angle to the façade of the house. The central windows and the doorways are not centered on the axis of the building, probably because more space was needed on one side for the living room, but this is not especially noticeable on the west side where there is only a platform before the doorway. On the east side, however, the porch roof and columns, standing so close to the inner windows, invite attention to the fact that the



FLOOR PLAN OF BURLEIGH MANOR HOUSE

entranceway is off-center when observed at a short distance away and facing the house squarely. Yet approaching the house by the driveway, the porch seems in perspective to be perfectly centered because of an optical illusion. Although the side of the house left of the doorway is a foot wider than the corresponding side on the right, from the angle of the drive, the eye sees the left front corner of the porch projected to the left just enough to cover the excess width of the house on that side. If the driveway was deliberately laid out to create this effect, it would indicate that the porch had been added to the house prior to 1876 when the driveway approach was shifted from west to east.

The principal entrance to the house may have been shifted from west to east as well as the approach in 1876. Certainly the west side is more attractive now, largely because the beautiful doorway on this side is not obscured by a porch as is the case on the east side. It is more probable, however, that the east side has always been the principal entrance. The brickwork of the east side of the main building, the hyphen, and the wing is laid in Flemish bond, while on the west it is common bond. Since Flemish bond was more difficult to lay and more highly esteemed than common bond, it was generally reserved for the façade when not used throughout a building. The old drive may have swung around the south end of the house to the east entrance, and the porch, which hides the arch of the east doorway, was probably not a part of the original plan.

The builder of the house, Colonel Rezin Hammond, son of Philip,¹ was an ardent patriot during the American Revolution. He headed a party from Severn River which participated in burning the *Peggy Stewart* on October 19, 1774, and he played an active part in the military and political affairs of the state during and after the Revolution. The *Maryland Gazette* summarized his career in the following obituary:²

During the American Revolution, he evinced a sincere and ardent attachment to his country's cause, by heading "a little warrior band,"

¹ He signed "son of Philip" to distinguish himself from his cousin Rezin Hammond, son of Nathan. It is interesting to note, in connection with the legend that Colonel Rezin built the house in 1760 for a prospective bride, that Rezin, son of Nathan, married Rebecca Hawkins on Sept. 2, 1760. The maiden name of the bride's mother was Rachel Burley. See Harry Wright Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 203, and *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1760.

² *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1809.

who, devoted to their leader, were with him ready at the call of danger to engage in her defence. Amongst the names of those who composed our convention is found that of the deceased. For several years he was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens to represent them in the State Legislature. At an advanced period of his life, he retired from the turmoil of the world to the peaceful quiet of his farm.

Howard County was still a part of Anne Arundel County, and the Hammonds were one of the largest, wealthiest and most influential families of Anne Arundel, when in 1796 Rezin Hammond patented "Hammond's Inheritance,"³ upon which the present house of Burleigh Manor stands. Like his brother Matthias, Colonel Rezin Hammond remained a bachelor, and the legend has survived that it was for the same reason. Rezin is supposed to have built the house in 1760 for a bride-to-be who changed her mind. The tale of thwarted love may have been true, and Rezin may have built a house in 1760 in anticipation of a wedding, but it is unlikely that the present structure was that house. Although the present building is a two-story brick structure, in the 1798 Tax Assessment Record for Elkridge Hundred the dwelling house of Rezin Hammond on Hammond's Inheritance was listed as a framed house, one story, twenty-four by eighteen feet, occupied by Absalom Anderson. The buildings listed on the estate were:⁴

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 Framed dwelling House 24 by 18 feet 1 Story | |
| 1 log kichen 20 by 16 feet | 1 Log D[itt]o 20 feet Square |
| 1 log D[itt]o 16 feet Square | 1 log D[itt]o 16 by 24 feet |
| 1 log House 24 by 10 feet | 1 Log D[itt]o 16 by 14 feet |
| 1 log Stable 30 Feet Square with 3 sheds | |
| 1 Framed Barn 32 by 24 feet Shed on 3 Sides | |
| 1 log Tob[acc]o House 64 by 24 feet | 1 log D[itt]o 56 by 20 feet |
| 2 D[itt]o D[itt]o 28 by 24 feet | |
| 1 Stone Meat House 12 Feet Square | |

Hammond's Inheritance in the assessment is further identified by the statement that it adjoined the property of Vachel Dorsey; the 1796 patent shows the lands of Vachel Dorsey on the south-west edge of Hammond's Inheritance. The assessment also gives an acreage of 2348 as compared with 2348 $\frac{3}{4}$ in the patent. Other properties belonging to Rezin Hammond in Elkridge Hundred

³ Liber I. C. No. L., folio 190 ff. Land Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁴ U. S. Tax Assessment Records, 1798, Elkridge and Elkridge Landing, Anne Arundel Co., Maryland Historical Society.

are listed in the assessment records, but none of these other holdings are close enough to Hammond's Inheritance to be confused with it. Some doubt was cast on the identity of Burleigh Manor with Hammond's Inheritance at a later date because of missing documents when the property was partitioned, but initialed stone markers were found on the boundaries of Burleigh Manor which corresponded to those described in the original patent.⁵

Some of the lands out of which Hammond's Inheritance was erected were in the possession of the Hammond family for a long time before the 1796 patent, and this explains the choice of the name Hammond's *Inheritance*. The stone meat house mentioned in the 1798 assessment is probably the same one now standing near the north end of the house. Though partially remodeled, it still contains a stone bearing the date 1720. But, lacking proof to the contrary, it seems certain that the present brick dwelling was constructed after 1798. The detailed accuracy of the tax assessment records for Elkrige Hundred makes it extremely unlikely that a two-story brick building would have been overlooked.

Rezin Hammond is said to have "observed his *brother's* large family and told him not to worry about the future of at least one of his sons—that he, Rezin, would provide for him; and, being a bachelor and very well endowed with this world's goods, too, there is no doubt that he could afford to do so. Denton was the son who was the recipient of his favors."⁶ The fact of the matter is that Rezin's "brother" in the above account was his nephew Philip (17—1826).⁷ Furthermore Philip was not destitute and held some 10,000 acres of land, but it is undoubtedly true that Colonel Rezin Hammond offered to provide for both Denton (1785-1813) and Matthias (17—1819), sons of his nephew Philip.

In his will, made in 1808, just a year before his death, the Colonel left to Denton Hammond 4,656 acres out of a total of more than 10,700 acres. To Matthias he left 4,479 acres, in which was included Hammond's Inclosure "being my dwelling planta-

⁵ Title search records for Burleigh Manor in possession of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

⁶ John Martin Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia and London, 1914), p. 107. The story is also mentioned in Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 135, and in her article in the Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, "The Hammond's of Early Maryland," Sept. 8, 1929.

⁷ The relationship is expressly stated by Colonel Rezin in his will of July 10, 1808. Anne Arundel Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 2, folio 469 ff., Hall of Records.

tion." This latter property was near Millersville and the ancestral graveyard at Gambrills where Rezin was buried. Although Denton did not acquire title to Hammond's Inheritance until the death of Rezin, he probably was in occupancy of it earlier. Since the Colonel was obviously providing for the future of Matthias and Denton, and since Matthias was to receive his own dwelling plantation, what more fitting event than the marriage of Denton to Sarah Hall Baldwin in 1805 for Colonel Rezin to build a suitable house for his other great-nephew? It is a striking fact that the architecture of the Burleigh Manor house and its interior wood-work corresponds most closely to similar buildings constructed shortly after 1800.⁸

Before leaving Colonel Rezin Hammond, it is worth mentioning that his generosity was not restricted to his great-nephews. The will of the old patriot who fought for the principles of liberty and freedom is a noble expression of compassion for the lot of the negro slave. In 1798 he was the second largest slaveholder in Anne Arundel County with a total of 169 slaves, 98 of whom were between the ages of twelve and fifty.⁹ Charles Carroll of Carrollton was first with 125 between the ages of twelve and fifty and a total of 248. At Rezin Hammond's death in 1809 he owned but two less slaves than in 1798, and he made provision for the manumission of all of them. Certain families and favored individuals (affecting thirty-two of his slaves) were presented with means of maintaining their freedom far in excess of the usual practise. Among these, Blacksmith Edmond was given the tools with which he was accustomed to work, a horse, cow, one sow and six pigs, ten barrels of corn, five barrels of wheat and ten acres of land. To several others he gave not only ten acres of land, a work horse, plow and gear, live stock, grain and household utensils, but a tenement as well. A final touch of warm affection for a slave was revealed when he gave to his waiting man his "Dutch Gun," powder horn, shot bag, cider mill and cider casks, mementos of a sporting life which they had shared.

⁸ Since the date of building the house is so much in doubt, any concrete information which would help establish it would be welcomed. The burned oyster shell type of plaster and split oak lathes used in the construction are typical of eighteenth-century buildings, but their use extended into the early nineteenth century, so that, too, is not conclusive. However, it is possible that the house was commenced earlier and was not completed until after 1800. Perhaps unfinished buildings were not included in tax assessments.

⁹ U. S. Tax Assessment Records, 1798, list of slaves, Anne Arundel Co.



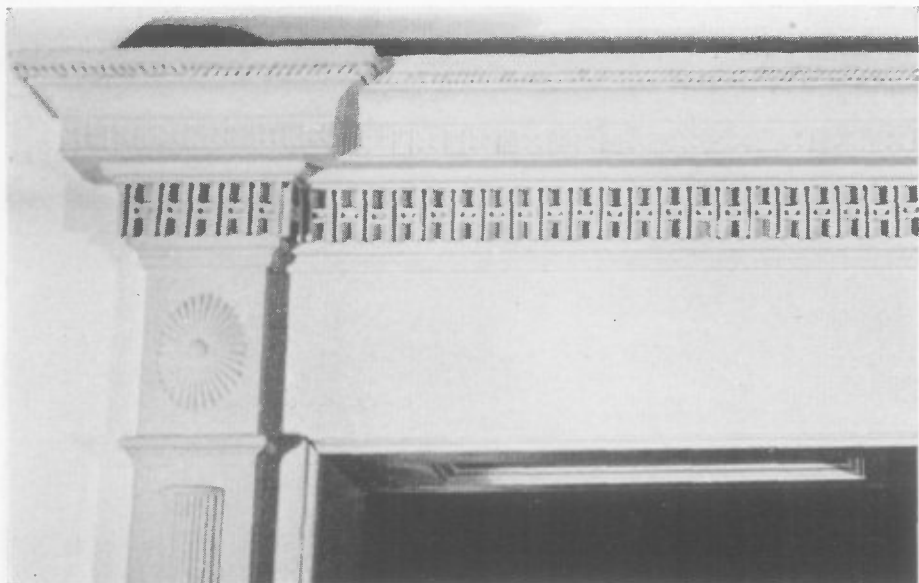
WEST ENTRANCE

Photos by Jack Engemann

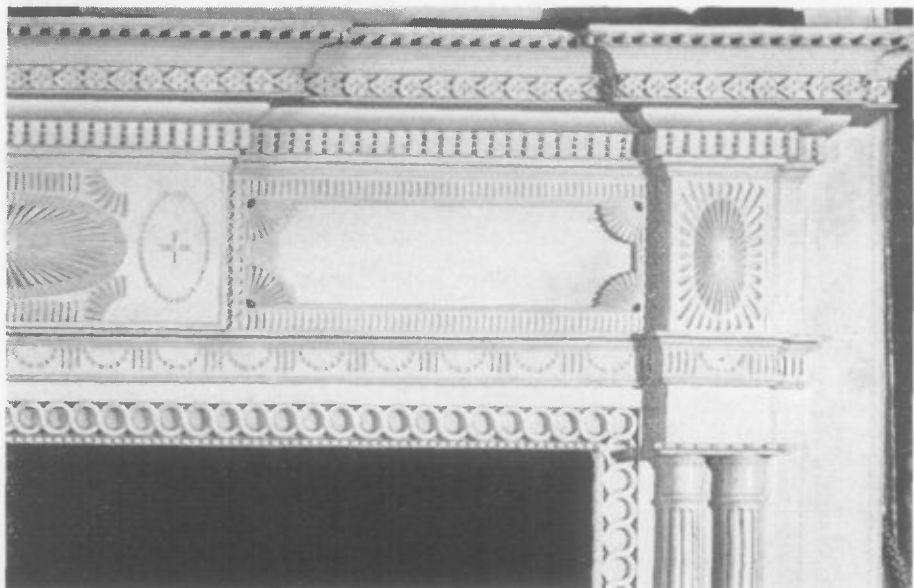


SOUTH WALL OF LIVING ROOM

Above the mantel is a portrait of Mr. Iverson's great-great-grandfather, Humphrey H. Keeble (1800-1874), planter and ship-owner, Gwynn's Island, Va. On the mantel is a miniature of Lydia Lee, daughter of Major John Lee of Virginia and among Mr. Iverson's ancestors. She was born at Fells Point and died in 1831.



Detail of carving in doorway between Hall and Living Room. Note the beautiful sunburst and the incorporation of the Hammond initial H in the design of the frieze. The cable and the alternate stars and "stripes" are repeated on the woodwork in the Living Room.



Detail of the fireplace mantel. Note the oval sunbursts in the center and at the corner of the frieze, also the four quarter sunbursts in the panel between.



WEST ENTRANCE DOORWAY

Short spikes on the "sun" can be seen at the center of the fanlight. These are supposed to represent the rays of the setting sun. The east fanlight is identical, except that instead of the spikes it has loops to represent the rising sun. The doors are double paneled. The glass in the windows is hand-blown. The elliptical arch of the Hall (described in the text) and the rest of the trim of the Hall is painted "palace ballroom blue." The walls are oyster white.

Denton Hammond died intestate on March 23, 1813, and letters of administration were taken out on his estate by his widow as guardian of the children Matthias, Elizabeth and Camilla Hammond. A valuation of the estate returned in 1817 described among other buildings "a brick dwelling house, 56 by 48 ft., in good repair."¹⁰ One dimension at least in this report fits the present house and it is probably the same structure which was described.

Sometime between 1828 and 1832 Denton's estate was partitioned between his three children, but title searches made in connection with litigation in 1928 failed to uncover the record or the original papers relating to the partition. Hammond's Inheritance was broken up, and from a mortgage to Elizabeth's husband, Richard Cromwell, Jr., in 1848, the information is given that the commissioners appointed to divide the estate of Denton gave to Matthias the farm, plantation, and a tract of 1100 acres out of Hammond's Inheritance.

Burleigh Manor remained in the hands of Colonel Matthias (a title acquired in the Civil War) until his death on August 6, 1882,¹¹ although the estate was subject to mortgages. The Colonel was a colorful figure, over six feet tall and heavily built, who, it is said, tried to continue the life of a wealthy ante bellum planter after the Civil War when his estate would no longer support it. Richard Cromwell, Jr., his sister's husband, had helped the Colonel in financial crises, and Cromwell was named as the executor and eventual heir of the estate. The Colonel's wife, Clara Stocksdales Hammond, was to enjoy the property during her life and then it was to be held in trust for his daughter Grace until her death.

Clara Hammond died in 1913 and Grace was mistress of Burleigh Manor until 1928, when it was put up for sale to settle the claims of the Cromwell heirs. At this point, it might be well to mention that Matthias always referred to Burleigh Manor as Hammond's Inheritance. When the name Burleigh came into existence, and why, remain shrouded in mystery. Residents of Howard County remember the estate being called Burleigh during the life

¹⁰ Title search records. There may have been a scribal error in the recording of the dimensions. A "3" is easily confused with "5" in manuscript and if the dimensions read 36 by 48 feet it would closely fit the present house.

¹¹ His obituary appears in the *Sun*, Aug. 7, 1882. He was buried in a small graveyard on Burleigh Manor. To his right are buried his wife, Clara, died Nov. 14, 1913, and his daughter Grace, died May 27, 1928, and on his left, his daughter Mary, died Aug. 15, 1865, and his housekeeper Anna E. Hackney, died July 19, 1907. In his will, Matthias had left provision that the latter should be maintained from the estate during her life.

of Grace Hammond, but not as Burleigh Manor. It was not a true manor, as some Maryland estates were, and it is believed that the "Manor" was added in an attempt to glamorize the property when it was put up for sale after 1928.

Burleigh Manor was finally purchased by Charles McAlpin Pyle in 1935.¹² The house was run down, any gardens which may have surrounded it had long since been broken up by the plow, and the estate had been reduced to 606 acres. Pyle undertook the restoration of the house and modernization of facilities at considerable expense. His family in New York were identified with wealthy soap, hotel and tobacco interests, and he was enamoured with the idea of becoming a country squire in the foxhunting countryside of Howard County. The most apparent effect of his restoration of the house can be seen in the "Stirrup Room," which was at one time the great kitchen in the wing. He restored the large fireplace as closely as possible to its original state, paneled the room in knotty pine, and hung up a stirrup as the symbol of the room. The Howard County Hunt Club had been organized in October, 1930, and as a member, Pyle would invite the club to have refreshments in the Stirrup Room after the horses had been stabled.

In 1940 Pyle leased Burleigh Manor to Rigan McKinney,¹³ whose skill at cross-country riding was nationally known, but McKinney's stay proved to be brief, for at the beginning of the following year Pyle had sold Burleigh Manor to Mrs. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., of Philadelphia, for her son-in-law and daughter, Prince Alexandre Hohenlohe of Poland and Princess Peggy.¹⁴ The Prince had met Peggy Schulze when Mr. Biddle, her stepfather, was American Ambassador to Poland. After the Nazi invasion of his country, Prince Alexandre fled from his feudal home and 50,000 acres to Paris where he joined the Biddles. He married Peggy in Paris and took a post as attache at the Polish Embassy in Washington. The Howard County countryside appealed to him, and despite the lament of Cholly Knickerbocker, speaking for New York society, that all the glamor of Peggy "will be hidden away 'down on the farm'—in Maryland," the

¹² *Sun*, Mar. 2, 1935. Title search records.

¹³ *Sunday Sun*, June 9, 1940.

¹⁴ Title search records. Newspaper accounts state that Prince Hohenlohe made the purchase, but it was Margaret T. Biddle who purchased the estate from the Pyles, and she conveyed it to her daughter Peggy Hohenlohe, Feb. 5, 1943. The Prince does not seem to have held title to the property directly. See *Baltimore News-Post*, Feb. 1, 1941; *Sunday Sun*, Feb. 2, 1941, *New York Herald Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1941.

Hohenlohes established themselves at Burleigh Manor. The major innovations of the Hohenlohes at Burleigh Manor, besides the foreign title, were the additions of a swimming pool and tennis court to the grounds and a nursery in the attic.

After the war Burleigh Manor no longer suited the needs of the Hohenlohes¹⁵ and it was sold to St. Timothy's School in 1946. However, the School decided that it was not suitable because of insufficient room, and after acquiring the present location in the Green-spring Valley, sold it to the present owner, George Dudley Iverson, in 1950. The opportunity to acquire Burleigh Manor was to Mr. Iverson the fulfillment of a cherished hope. He had seen the estate just prior to going overseas in World War II and decided at that time that this was the place he would like most to own.

Fully aware of the historic value of his new home, Mr. Iverson has moved cautiously in bringing back Burleigh Manor to its original state as nearly as present conditions would allow. He engaged landscape architect Alden Hopkins, well-known for his work in the restoration of the gardens and grounds of Colonial Williamsburg, to lay out the grounds of Burleigh Manor, and this project is now well under way. A paddock fence with hand-turned locust posts has been erected around the driveway, new trees and shrubs set out, brick and picket garden walls put up at the ends of the house, brick walks started, and brick gutters placed along the house. When completed the appearance of the house will be greatly enhanced by the improvements in the grounds.

Inside the house Mr. Iverson has made few changes. With meticulous attention to the existing carved woodwork and mouldings of the room, a set of bookshelves was designed and built in the study. The entire woodwork of the study was then painted "Raleigh Tavern blue" to contrast with the oyster white of the walls. Typical of Mr. Iverson's appreciation for the original plan of the house has been his selection of paint in re-decorating. He made studies of plaster in the house and, with help from Colonial Williamsburg, found a color which it is believed would match the appearance of the original unpainted oyster shell plaster used in the building. The contrasting colors, such as "palace ballroom blue" in the hall and the "Raleigh Tavern blue" in the study were typical of those used in the colonial period.

¹⁵ The Prince attempted shooting himself in 1949 and the Hohenlohes were divorced a few months later. The following year Peggy married Morton Downey. See *New York Times*, Sept. 26, 26, Oct. 1, 1949, for suicide attempt, Dec. 13, 1949, for divorce, and Oct. 18, 1950, for marriage.

With so many of Maryland's historic houses disappearing through neglect and disinterest of the owners, it is reassuring to see Mr. Iverson's efforts towards the rehabilitation of Burleigh Manor. The house has long been a favorite among connoisseurs of old houses, and justly so, but it lies in the path of suburban development, and in less devoted hands might have given place to rows of half-acre lots.

As to the house itself, the wing and the main part show some differences in construction. The bricks in the main house are of a finer texture and were laid more evenly with better tooling of the mortar in the joints. Also the mortar of the wing is red whereas that of the main house is white, indicating different sources of sand. The rubbed bricks in the flat arches of the first and second story windows and the elliptical arch over the doorway of the main house are finer and more closely laid than those in the wing.

The east and west doorways of the main house are almost identical. The trim of each is delicately carved and surmounted by a beautiful fanlight incorporating a semi-diameter of the sun and its rays in its elliptical design. The difference between the two is that the east fanlight sun has a small set of "loops" around it to signify sunrise and the west fanlight has a corresponding set of "spikes" to represent sunset.

The motif of the interior detail, executed with great skill, is the sun and its rays. The rooms have sufficient window space to make them bright, but there is an added awareness of brightness through the delicate carvings featuring sunbursts of various sizes and shapes. Samples of these from the corner of the frieze on the doorways in the hall and the living room mantel can be seen in the accompanying illustrations.

The "L" shaped hall, large enough to have served as a drawing room, reception room or small ballroom, is not only bathed with light through the entranceways in the morning and afternoon, but at the mid-area where the shadows begin to deepen, a delicately carved elliptical arch lightens the effect of the room with the fine reeding of its soffit running horizontally in the direction of the sun's rays in the room. And the vertical reeding and chevrons on the semi-circular columns of the arch give a feeling of uplift in this area. The effect of the west arm of the hall is lightened by a staircase which gently leads the eye upward along its graceful handrail. The supporting slender, square, white balusters, follow-

ing the curve of the hand rail as it spirals up, appear in the light of the stairwell like rays of sun-light themselves, while in each corner of the step ends there is a fine carved sunburst.

The living room is the richest in carved detail. In addition to the entablature of the fireplace, which can be better appreciated in the illustrations than by a description, the room is paneled below the chair rail. Cable moldings and alternate sections of fluting and stars along the rail provide contrast for the walls. Here again the motif of the sun and its rays dominates the room through the large eye-catching oval sunbursts on the frieze of the mantel and the trim of the doorways.

One of the outstanding aspects of the carvings is their complete subordination to the overall effect in a room. The detail is more luxurious and copious in the living room, not only because it was to receive the guests for entertaining, but also because it was larger and had more wall space. Even so, there is no ostentatious extravaganza of woodcarving, but a restrained dignity, a delicate execution, and a calculated effect of lightness in all the detail.

Moving across the hall to what now serves as a dining room there is a marked diminution of detail in the woodwork. The room is much smaller and every wall is broken up either by windows or large doorways. The same is true of the study, and the fireplace mantels of both rooms have subdued patterns of reeding and chevrons to match the less spacious surroundings. Here again, the refined feeling for proportion, balance and lightness prevails. More intricate and ornate carving can be found in other houses, but few excel Burleigh in good taste and the masterly execution of a theme.

The floor plans of the second story and the attic are the same as the first floor since the partitions are solid brick walls which reach from footings in the basement up to the rafters. As might be expected, the carved woodwork does not extend to the upstairs rooms, nor to the hyphen and wing, which were utility areas.

The house is furnished throughout in good taste to match the style and period of the interior. With the modernization of the utility areas to ease the daily chores which weighed so heavily on the household in former days, the delightful interior of this more than 150 year old house, designed and elaborated in the age of master craftsmen, adds immeasurably to gracious living.

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY: PART III

Edited by DOUGLAS GORDON

(Continued from Vol. 50, No. 2, June, 1955, p. 119)

THE first installment of the Diary of John M. Gordon appeared in volume 49 (March, 1954), pages 196-213, along with a biographical introduction. In brief summary, John Montgomery Gordon was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, on February 4, 1810. He acquired a classical education at Yale University and began his diary in 1835 shortly after graduation. On November 21, 1833, he and Emily Chapman were married in Philadelphia and came to Baltimore to live. Admitted to the Baltimore bar in 1834, Gordon became a successful lawyer. He was elected a director of the Union Bank of Maryland and in 1841 became its president. As a member of the Monday Club and the Conversation Club, a director of the Library Company, and an original trustee of the Peabody Institute, he was active in the cultural life of the city. He died on November 5, 1884.

It has not been possible to identify or elaborate upon every person, place, or event mentioned. Identifications noted in previous installments are as a rule not repeated. Irregularities and variations in spelling and capitalization have been retained as they appeared in the journal.

THE DIARY OF JOHN M. GORDON

Friday July 10th [1835]. Rose this morning at 7. Slept very badly last night. Had the nightmare and bad dreams. Had to get up, walk about the room and read for some time before I could go to sleep. My restlessness was owing to smoking two segars after dinner yesterday. Lloyd and Norris dined with me. We had a very pleasant talk. This morning I finished Caleb Williams. It is a most powerfully written work but tedious towards the close. R. Norris called on me this morning,

about some business, as a kind of peace offering for his puppyism. How soon does insignificance cringe fawning under the lash of sovereign contempt. I have almost kicked that man as he crouches like a spaniel. Little George called to see me yesterday. How that fine little boy contrasts with such a character. I verily believe that there is more nobility of mind to be found in individuals in the lower orders of life, occasionally, than in the higher. Or is it because the native qualities of the mind appear, like the body, more full of vigour and symmetry, when undisguised with the clothing of education? I find the day drags heavily when by myself. I alternately read, write and do nothing and find the night still longer than the day. I wish I was in Fauquier and my gun there. The weather to day is very comfortable.

Saturday July 11th. Rose at 6. Went to market. Occupied the morning in reading and writing letters. W. E. Voss and Thos. Knox dined with me. Fisher of Pha., Sally Waln's beau, came in after dinner and walked and sat with me until 9 o'clock. He does not want talents, is very well educated and yet his conversation is to me particularly raw and puerile. He prides himself on an independent liberality of mind, and he seems to me to be the child of caprice and victim of prejudice. I like him for all that, and wish him every happiness, yet I have a foreboding that he will be a miserable and insignificant old man. He will accuse the world but will be the cause of his own misfortunes. I sent a letter to Emily to day via Fredericksburg. It is ten o'clock. I take up Rabelais for an hour before bed. I began him to day and am thus far disappointed and disgusted even, with the mass of corruption, reeking with the very ooze of putridity with which his pages teem. I have never conceived of more unprovoked and unmitigated obscenity.

Sunday morning. July 12th. Cloudy and rainy. Rose at 7. Slept badly last night, being kept awake by some rowdies under the window, who to my great gratification were finally taken to the watch house by the watch. The tavern next door begins to be a great nuisance. I fear we shall have to move. What a small thing will disturb a man's equanimity. I shall go to church this morning and sit in my own pew. I have asked Thom Knox to take a seat with me. We had a pleasant dinner yesterday. The salt beef, however, our main reliance was spoilt and we were thrown entirely upon the mutton. George Biddle came in while we were at dinner to give me a ticket to his commencement on Tuesday. I shall go. He is to make some experiments before the audience tomorrow in Natural Philosophy. I shall try and be present at them likewise, from the favour I bear him.

I have been watching the operations and habits of my mind for some months past, and I think my imagination is growing warmer. Upon the whole I think most of the faculties of my mind continue to strengthen and improve except memory, and that has been declining for several years, either naturally in proportion as it has been enriched or because I have sadly neglected its cultivation. My Love for poetry and Romance are returning to me. Upon the whole I am conscious that my character

has been much improved by marriage. I miss my little wife very much. I recovered my umbrella, or rather, another one in the place of it, which I left in the stage the night of my return. I see by the papers that Arthur Morson has lost his child. Poor fellow! How I feel for him. Went to Church as usual, sat in my own pew. Saml., Dorsey and Morris of Pha. sat with me. After church took a bath. Slept in afternoon. . . . There is no cholera in the (town), else I would feel uneasy. I am quite well. Commenced a letter to Emily to night. I find Rabelais very dull and unprofitable.

Tuesday July 14th. . . . I read the life of Pitt all day yesterday, by Bishop of Winchester. It is the first time I have read the book though I have had it in determination to do so for many years. I know no work better calculated to rouse the latent or stimulate the active ambition of a young man. At 24 he met and defeated in argument, Lord North, Fox, Burke, Sheridan and a host of inferior orators.

Wednesday July 15th. Rose at 8 after a very refreshing night's sleep. Was at Dr. Potter's for an hour last night to meet Mr. Clem Biddle.¹ Employed myself to day in examining the testamentary system of Md. and in reading Cooper's last novel, the Monikens. I find it very dull. Wrote part of a letter to Emily to day. My hours move on at a sloth's pace here by myself, and reading is "a weariness to the flesh."

Friday morning July 17th. Rece^d. a very long and sweet letter from Emily yesterday. Read and walked during the morning. Called on Mrs. Norris in the evening and went thence to F. Voss. I dine with Mrs. N. today. Her husband, to her comfort and mine, is out of town. Spent the rest of the evening drawing up two papers for one of which I am to get \$25. Sent a long letter to Emily yesterday. Finished the Monikens,—not worth reading. Rose this morning at 7. Weather continues cool and pleasant. Must write to Alxr. to day. Dined with Mrs. N.—T. Voss was there. Had a very nice dinner, a sweet little Ham and tomatoes, which are my delight of a summer day. Been reading life [of] Pitt to day. I was agreeably surprised this morning at receiving my Va. dividend to find it \$100 more than usual.

Saturday July 18th. Rose this morning at 4, and took a long walk. Read last night till 12. Rece^d. a letter from M[rs. Chapman] inquiring very kindly after my health, she having heard that I was sick. Answered it. Read during morning Tucker and life of Pitt. I have been very lazy for the last week and fear I am contracting habits inconsistent with a proper degree of mental discipline. Light reading is becoming too agreeable for the vigorous prosecution of my severe studies. When I get my wife back, however, I shall have zeal enough to set to hard work again. The hours move on wings of lead. Took a long walk, felt much lighter thereby, and being tired went to bed at 10.

¹ Probably the Clement Biddle with whom J. M. Gordon took a trip to Michigan in 1836. He was Gordon's first cousin.

Sunday July 19th. Rose at 7. Warm day. Read and walked until church. Heard a good sermon very well delivered by a young man from Pha: Powel, lawyer, of Fredg. sat with me. Called on Mrs. N. who so kindly pressed me to stay and dine with her, that I did so. Wrote to Susan. Reced^d. a very sweet letter from my dear little wife which I answered. Chap., poor little fellow!, can't be made to learn any tricks. It shews a philosophical turn of mind and I love him the better for it. I wish I was in Fauquier. It would be so pleasant to be there with Sam and B. and families. This afternoon is horribly dull and I am too lazy and ennuied even to say how much so I am. I'll shut up my journal and take a nap on the floor by way of precaution against oversleeping myself. O! that the world had less stagnation in it. Took a walk at 7½ and read until eleven.

Monday July 20th. Rose at 6½. Spent an hour last night with the Wms. and Mrs. Donalson. Met there Dorson and Pennington as usual. What a talking, vulgar, self-conceited fellow that Dorson is, and that such a sweet girl as Lizy Wms. should pay him such devoted attention! I like Mary best. P. as usual rattled on, on atmospheric air, Hindoston, the comparative levels of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, etc., etc.,

"Si naturam furca repellas"² What's born in the bone, etc., usque recurrat."

(How rare) a thing in men is "modest stillness and humility." How (much) rarer the soul-touching grace of a manly and natural carriage. O! Modesty, O! refinement, O! sensibility, O! Taste, O! sweet nature! "Thou has fled to brutish hearts." Sat from nine to ten with Donalson who asked me to come one day this week to eat Westphalia Ham. I like them, the Donalsons, and Hams too, the more, every time I see them.

Poor Sarah called to see me this morning. She is in much trouble. Her husband has been sold to a negro trader who takes him to Mississippi. She wished me to buy him. Should she not get some of her friends to purchase him, her plan is to lay up her wages till she has enough to procure his liberty. . . .

Walked in the afternoon with Dulany to Rail Road depot to see the cars come in from Washington. The engineer told us that the train had averaged 27 miles an hour! If they run at that rate, there must be dreadfull accidents. D. came in to tea and we had two games of chess which lasted until 10 o'clock. He beat me both of them. I have given over being sleepy at night lately, and have to read a dull book for an hour before I feel drowsy. Would this were Friday night! I called this afternoon on Capt. Shubrick to speak a good word for P. Voss,³ who is applying for the place of private secretary.

Tuesday July 21st, 1835. Rose at 6½. Cool cloudy day. Got a letter from Basil this morning. He and Wellington are going to Piney Point

² Horace's *Epistles* I, 10, line 24.

³ The Voss family lived in Falmouth, Virginia. The members were neighbors, therefore, of the diarist's uncle Basil and friends of the entire Gordon family.

to day. Bought a bell this morning to take as a present to Eliza, likewise some tooth brushes, soap and salts for Emily.

I have just heard that the boat will not leave Fredg. until Saturday, and as I was delayed partly in expectation of my gun which will not now come until Sunday, I have determined to leave here tomorrow via Fredg. and take them by surprise on Friday at dinner. Two more days will restore me to happiness. I have been fixing all the afternoon and shall go and walk now and then pack up. I must not forget some candy for Chap. and Cos:

Wednesday July 29th. I arrived at Wms.' last Friday at 10 A.M. Left Baltimore on Wednesday at 8 and was very nearly being too late for the cars, which left that morning $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour earlier than usual. I knew none of the passengers but Jno: Waring from near Port Royal. We were whirled over to Bladensburg in 2 hours including 20 minutes stoppage, distance 30 miles. Put up at Brown's, which I found intolerably filthy and vulgar. I walked down before dinner to Genrl. Hunter's, but found them still in the country at Abingdon. In the afternoon visited the Capitol and examined the statues of War and Peace, with which I was disagreeably disappointed. Left in the morning boat at 5. Dr. Harris and daughter of Pha: were on board, with whom I became acquainted through the introduction of Jno. Mercer of the Navy, and found him a most charming, cultivated gentleman. We came from the landing in the same stage and [had] some classical conversation and discussion of characters.

Reached Fredg: at 11 and found all well at Kenmore and discussing a fine mellon. Dined there that day and slept at Dr. Wallace's.⁴ I started in the morning at break of day in a gig with a broken down horse which I was just able with the assistance of severe flogging to push as far as Cane's, where I got another and stronger animal and came on very comfortably, occasionally stopping on the road side to discharge my gun which I brot. with me in the leather case. My little wife came running out to meet me as happy as happy can be. I found her and Chap. both much improved and strengthened by the pure air of Fauquier. S., W. and Patsy⁵ were dining at Mr. Jno. Knox's and returned about sundown. Next day I lounged on the bed, listened to Emily's journal and shot a bird or two in the afternoon.

Sunday was excessively hot. We had intended to go to the church across Carter's Bridge, but gave it out. I commenced Kennedy's novel, Horseshoe Robinson, and was interested in the first 30 pages.

Monday. Read, shot, played with children, conversed and slept.

Tuesday rained all day. Read Horseshoe and Blackwood. The former

⁴ Dr. John H. Wallace, husband of J. M. Gordon's eldest sister, Mary Nicholas Gordon.

⁵ Samuel and Wellington Gordon, brothers of J. M. Gordon; Patsy Fitzhugh, wife of Samuel Gordon of Santee, older brother of J. M. Gordon.

I doubt, whether I can force my inclinations to finish. It becomes,—as the pages multiply on you—, weak, diffuse, unnecessarily circumstantial, and regardless of the minor probabilities. The filling up of the characters does not harmonize with the sketch he gives of them when introduced. The story wants interest. The unities of place and action are slighted, and many of the characters have no more mutual dependence and connexion than those of different works. (I am interrupted here to ride with Wm to Wheatleys Mills.)

Friday July 31st (1835). Wednesday rode with Wm. to the mill and purchased some articles for Eliza and the children. Returned in time for dinner. We expected the Misses Fitzhughs to dine with us, but they did not come. After dinner Wm., Emily and myself walked over to Mr. Chapman's. We took our guns and shot a dozen birds. Returned about 8. Next morning according to an engagement made the previous evening, Wm. and I walked over to the sulphur spring about 3 miles and near the main road. We had not intended walking but no horses were up. Mr. Chapman joined us. Took my gun along. Found the water muddy and without any taste of sulphur. We breakfasted with Mr. C. Brought home birds enough for a large pie, which we had yesterday. Slept, read and walked out with my gun in the afternoon. We expected Mary to dinner but she did not arrive. Sam went down on Wednesday. Wm. and I propose riding over to Lee's⁶ tomorrow, or the next day. This morning rose at 7. Too hot to go out and have been reading Blackwood all the morning.

Monday Aug. 3rd. Returned yesterday from Lee's springs whither Wm. and I went on Saturday. Found Chap. unwell on my return with diarrhea and fever. He passed a restless night and this morning we sent a note by Wellington to Dr. Hamilton, (who was on his way to Lee's). Mary is to be up to day. Went out this morning with my gun and brot: back a bag full of birds. We intend leaving here on Monday next for the Springs ourselves. Wm. and Sam and families go at the same time. Chapman, poor little fellow, continues hot and restless this morning, but I think it owing to a tooth that is coming through. We were much pleased with our visit to Lee's, about two hundred guests, and the accommodations very good.

Tuesday Aug^t. 11th 1835. At Lee's Springs and have been here since Saturday. From Monday last until Thursday Chapman continued quite unwell with the bowel complaint, during which time I staid in his room, walked, shot and read Horseshoe Robinson (which I have not yet finished). On Wednesday Mary arrived with her children and left next morning in a hack for the springs, which we engaged to come back for us on Friday evening. On that day we dined with Mr. Sidney Chapman and took Chapman with us. We met Basil⁷ and Lucy as we were

⁶ Lee's Sulphur Springs near Warrenton, later known as Fauquier White Sulphur Springs.

⁷ Basil Gordon, older brother of J. M. Gordon and Lucy P. Taylor his wife,

driving into his farm. Returned, after quite a pleasant day, about sun down. Next morning after breakfast started in fine glee for the springs. We stopt at Uncle John's and as Churchill was desirous to visit the springs and had no conveyance, I was very happy to give her my seat and take good long pleasant walk. Bazil walked likewise. I had my gun and shot only a bat on a dead tree. B. was quite worn down; it took us four hours with $\frac{3}{4}$ hour rest, and must therefore be more than 10 miles. The carriage got $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour a head of us. We found no change of a room when we got here. D. Gordon,^{*} Wt. Gordon, Thomas and Turner, however gave us their room in the 4th story for the night, and the next day, Mrs. Wheeland of Baltimore, gave us a part of her cabin, one of the two which were left in the middle of the yard for C[hief] J[ustice] Marshall. We got in during the day. I set to work, and by changin[g] the hinges of the doors, etc., made the room quite comfortable.

We found my Mother, Susan and Agnes with Miss Letitia Smith very comfortably fixed in cabin No. 8, the second on the right hand. Lucy, who came with us, got a nice cabin yesterday. We found here Mrs. Skinner, Mrs. Didier, and Mrs. Wheeland of our Baltimore acquaintances,—not many farther north, but numbers of my old friends from the neighbourhood. Mrs. Page, Misses Caroline and Elizabeth Fitzhugh, Mrs. J. F. Fields, Mr. Ward, Mrs. J^s. Brooke, Mrs. Caldwell, Mrs. Green and Mrs. Richie, her mother, Mrs. Harrison, etc., etc., Mrs. Winston and daughters, Rev^d. Phil Slaughter and the Dr. his brother, Scott (son of Judge), several Marshalls, and many others too numerous to mention. We had the policy to get our seats at table opposite the Green party.

Yesterday Uncle B. and Family arrived and after a good deal of trouble I succeeded in getting them comfortably fixed in the barber's shop. To day Sam and Wm. and Davies of Baltimore arrived. Bonny Barrol came to day from Balt. and gave us the proceedings of the Baltimore mob up to Monday. O, tempora, O Mores! a city of 100,000 people put down by 500, or at most 5,000. The springs are crowded to excess. Perhaps four hundred persons are now here. To day a northeaster has commenced and the rain has set in most uncomfortably. Played whist this morning, with Bazil, Wh. and Young Brooke, and then slept till dinner time. I am enjoying myself very much here. Chapman to day pointed at me for the first time, when asked by his mother where I was. Sweet little fellow!

Thursday August 13. Rose at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Day hot and close. Patsy left this morning. Dr. Wallace, who came this morning, takes Mary away likewise during the day. Applied for seats last night for Friday and find them all taken. Yesterday It cleared away about 12, and the walking soon became good again. The company seems now to be thinning. Miss E. Smith, my old flame, arrived this morning, or rather my reputed flame. I hope she may catch a fine beau at the springs. But she is very insipid

daughter of John Taylor of Caroline. Their house was "Prospect Hill," Caroline County.

^{*} Douglas Hamilton Gordon, first cousin of J. M. Gordon, youngest son of Bazil Gordon of Falmouth.

and I would not wish any friend to marry her who would find it out. I am glad to see her looking so well and not perceptibly deaf.

Saw General Peyton of Richmond yesterday. Take it all in all, the company is as good here as I ever met at a watering place. Saw Dr. Thornton this morning. He came before breakfast. He very kindly repeated the invitation of his daughter to visit him and offered to make an arrangement for a carriage to take us. John Thornton is likewise here, two Mr. Conways (one who paid a morning visit with me to Mr. Madison), a son, the last surviving one, of Judge Dade. Dr. Minor of Navy, Hoe of Navy, with whiskers brought us word that the mob in Baltimore is quelled. We had a gay room last night. I danced with little Helen Brooke to gratify her mother. I have felt badly for a day or two and think the waters disagree with me. The springs begin to grow tiresome and I am now anxious to get back.

Baltimore, Monday August 17th. Arrived here last night at 9 in the cars from Washington, having come that morning from Warrenton. We had an easy and agreeable ride to Alexandria. It was our intention to remain with Genl. Hunter for a day or two, but we found him busy in defending the jail from the mob, and his house being threatened with an attack, we determined to push on. Davies and family were in Washington and came over with us. We caught Senna out and had to take our tea at Barnums, from whose windows we caught the first view of Johnson's ruin⁹ and the military arrangement of cannon and soldiers for the night. It looked more warlike than any thing I have ever yet had the pleasure of seeing.

I left the springs at last with reluctance. There had been many arrivals of agreeable people in the preceding two days and the present week promised to be a very gay one. Bazil and Lucy left the morning we did. The Wheelands came down with us. I find the town in the most unpleasant state of excitement and fear all is not settled yet. Went to Bank this morning. Met Poor Morris¹⁰ in the street who was too mortified to speak to me. None of the victims of the fury of the mob, I am sure, had their sensibilities more deeply wounded. Went to market before breakfast. I never saw a finer supply of vegetables and fruit. Very hot today. Thermometer upwards of 80. How delighted I am to get Home again. My own dear Home, so sweet and quiet and refined,—and our exquisite little dinners! We get citrons for 2 cts. apiece.

Tuesday Augst. 18th 1835. Rose this morning at 7. Felt quite uncomfortably from a cold. Wrote to my mother last night and to Wm. K. G. to day. Day very hot which makes me very anxious about Chap.'s bowels, being already a little disordered. Had a very graphic and circumstantial

⁹ Reverdy Johnson's house at the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette Streets was destroyed by the mob. Johnson was a director and counsel of the Bank of Maryland. The delay in paying its creditors caused the Bank Riots.

¹⁰ John B. Morris, President of the Bank of Maryland. His house, now the Cathedral School, 7 West Mulberry Street, was damaged by the mob.

account of the mob from young Brown of the bar. Have been reading the Law of Riots this morning.

Thursday Augst. 20th. Yesterday Chapman had a violent purging. 14 passages and surprising to say he seems this morning as well as ever. Dr. Buckler came to see him in the absence of Dr. Steuart. I felt badly yesterday and spent the morning upstairs reading Levitt "Art of Sinking in Poetry" to Emily. In the afternoon Mrs. Chapman arrived with T. Biddle, Jr., to carry Emily back, upon which I am very sorry that I have to put my veto. Rose this morning at 6 and walked with T. Biddle¹¹ to market. Went to Bank at 8. Day hot. I feel better to day and am blowing out my cold through the nose. I shall read Cruise this morning.

Friday Aug. 21st. Rose at 5 this morning to see Thom. Biddle off. Chapman continued unwell all yesterday, but this morning seems free of fever and the bowel complaint. Read Cruise yesterday on subject of common recoveries with much relish. I am particularly pleased with Mansfield's remarks, in one of the cases, on the uncertainty of the word disseisin. What constitutes it. Played half a dozen games of chess very well with T. Biddle last night. The day is cool and airy and fine for Chapman.

Saturday August 22nd: Rose at 5½. Went to market and read until breakfast. I shall hereafter employ an hour before breakfast in committing select specimens of poetry and prose to memory, for I find that faculty of my mind on the wane. Yesterday rece^d. a letter from B. B. Gordon dated Liverpool, which I have answered, my letter being almost finished when his arrived. Weather cool to day. Thermometer under 76°. Called with Emily on Mr. and Mrs. Johnson yesterday, but found they had gone into the country, to Harford Court.

Sunday Aug: 23rd. Rose late. Cool day. Shall go to church. Employed most of the morning in copying. Afternoon read and walked. Have commenced Chataubriand's Travels. Read the concluding number on Pitt in Littell. Resolved to rise earlier on Sunday. Mrs. C. rece^d. a letter from the Dr. yesterday, promising to come down to day or tomorrow and mentioning that I was to be invited with several other citizens to a public dinner to Dr. Patterson in Pha. next Saturday. It is very kind of the Dr. and would give me much pleasure to go but I must decline.

Tuesday Aug. 25th. Attended Bank yesterday and was appointed Cashier pro tem. Read and copied in the morning and walked after dinner with Mrs. C. and E. Received a fee of \$35 from Goodwin and Hart for drawing declaration of slaves. How sweet are one's first sensations of gain. At the present time I think I should be perfectly happy if my practice brought me in \$2000 a year, but when that time arrives I shall no doubt be looking forward to some thing better. I am, in any event, secure of the present and will enjoy it. Fools look forward to

¹¹ Nephew of Mrs. Nathaniel Chapman.

tomorrow, wise men seize today. Rose this morning at 5 o'clock and went to market. It has become quite an amusement to me. I find out some new character every day, some vegetable man or old woman with eggs and butter. I wish my faculties for studying men and Books were equal. Read Swift last night. His Origin of the Sciences and Annus Mirabilis. He has certainly more wit of the first water than any writer in the English Language. I have read all his works two or three times before.

Thursday, Aug: 27th. Mrs. Chapman left us yesterday in a rain, which however passed away by noon and she had good weather to go ashore in. I was a little unwell during the morning and staid within doors and read and napped. Read some of Swift to Emily. Retired early. Rose at 5½. Chapman is better, feel quite well this morning. Rece^d. the first number of Noah's paper, which I like very much. Put up cards, etc., for Mr. B. Gordon's family, but was disappointed in sending it by the boat which had changed the hour of starting from 3 to nine. Likewise a bundle for Wm. Sent him a copy of Taylor's Agricola as a present.

Friday Aug. 28th. Rose at 5½. Got up at that hour to give the porter the keys of the U. Bank. Last night was kept up till 12 getting a writ for Hart and Poor and Keyser, to take up some western merchant who was to leave in the morning. I felt badly and have done so for several days. I want exercise.

Saturday Aug: 29th: Rose at 6. Must get up earlier. Felt better today. R. Voss took tea with us. We had a pleasant evening. He surprised us with the engagement of Margarite Smith, (daughter of Denis) and young Ingersol of (New Orleans). Yesterday took up one or two accts. of Wm. G. Cook, for collection, but they are bad even agst. good persons for want of proof. Walked with Emily and R. Voss to choose his carpets. Read in the morning. Purchased Tidd's Practice and intend to take up the study of that subject. Practice however is not to be learned from theory.

Sunday Aug: 30th 1835. Rose at 6 and walked. Fine day, airy and cool. Went to church and sat in our own pew with the most satisfactory feelings. One has such sensations of self-respect and respectability in taking his seat in a decorous and decent congregation with a minister who is at once a gentleman and Christian. Repeated from my Greek Prayer Book. I think I shall get the Pentateuch and a Greek and Latin prayer book. Wm. Norris dined with us and gave a very interesting acct. of the springs (White Sulphur). We walked in the evening and at night and discussed the two nuisances of Court House and tavern. We shall be compelled to move.

Monday Aug: 31. Rose at 5½. Went to market and Bank. Laid in my supply of wood to day at \$3.12 cts. cord; with costs of cutting, etc., \$3.64½. Read Tidd. Attended to some business and walked. I feel better having been carefull in my diet. Yet still I find it difficult to bring

my mind to bear upon my particular study with its whole force. Chapman is quite well again and becoming more intelligent daily.

Thursday Sep: 3rd. Employed the last three days as usual. Have commenced Tidd's Practice and find it very instructive and satisfactory. The first work I have read on the subject. We spent last evening at Bolton very agreeably (some persons there from Florida) and on our return were much disappointed to find that Gen^l. and Mrs. Cadwalader¹² had been to see us and had retired for the night. I went down however this morning and saw them on the boat. Went through R. Voss' house this morning. It is very pretty and will be beautiful when finished. Got a letter from Alex^r. yesterday. I am getting into better habits of study.

Friday morning Sept. 4th. Rose at 5¼. Walked and read. I breakfast on soft peaches and milk, which I find agrees well with me and most palatable. Rece^d. a letter from W. K. Gordon today ordering the purchase of some F. and M. Bank stock. We go to Norris' tonight to meet Mrs. Lansdale. Had been examining the right of a justice to take special bail on a suit in County Court. Read Tidd on special bail with a view to the same question. I find great difficulties from the want of some knowledge of practice and when a case occurs I am all at sea although I am sufficiently familiar with the principles of law.

Monday Sep. 7th 1835.

Tuesday Sep. 8th. Rose at 5½. I always awake at that hour precisely. I have been reading Tidd for several days and find it a very instructive Book. We were asked to Mrs. Skinner's last night but did not go. Lanman called in to see us yesterday afternoon having just returned from his summer tour. I like that little fellow very much. Bought a nice basket this morning in market to send my mother some choice fruit in, by tomorrow's boat. G. Smith¹³ is elected by 4 votes to one and thus the mob is put down. Rece^d. a sweet letter from my mother on Sunday. Yesterday R. Voss dined with us. I was glad that we happened to have a sweet little dinner to give him. Went with him in the morning to look at some articles in the China Shops. While we were there a furious bullock walked into the shop through the back door and passed out the front door without hurting anything. It was the first time I met with a bull in a China shop. The petrified look of the Irish shopman and the expression of the other persons present, taken with the attitude of the bull, formed a fine group for a caricature.

Wednesday Sept. 9th. The Union has at last sold those cursed Tennessee Bonds and we come out of the transaction about square. The termes were finally settled at the meeting of the board yesterday. The

¹² General Thomas Cadwalader. His wife Mary Biddle was Mrs. Chapman's sister.

¹³ General Samuel Smith after suppressing the Bank Riots was elected Mayor of Baltimore at the age of 83 in a special election, here referred to, and in the regular election of the following year.

stock will now be worth some thing like \$80. Sent my mother a basket of nice peaches this morning by boat. I have commenced studying French in the afternoon and intend to prosecute it with vigour. My health is getting better with the return of cool weather and by the aid of a diet of peaches and cream. I study now much more than usual and to more purpose.

Thursday Sep 10th. Rose this morning bright and early at 5. Shaved before going out. Read Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece last night. Went to see 4 dwarfs from Va: last afternoon. They were perfect Liliputians. Read a french fable and studied the syntax of it. I am examining the right of 2 justices to take special bail in the cases of Hart and Co: and Poor and Keyser v. Campbell. I read with much more profit and pleasure when examining the law in its application to a certain case. I find it begins to assume daily more of the form of a science to my contemplation. My apprehension is as quick and strong as it ever was, attributable, no doubt, to regular exercise and light food. What a connexion there is in my case between the mind and body. It often makes me recur to the doctrines of materialism. I stop to go to Bank.

Saturday Sep 12th. Bad day chilly and raining. Thursday evening we spent with Mrs. Ritchie and Harrison of Richmond at Skinners. What agreeable, refined people H. and wife are and how beautifull their manners! Have been examining the laws Md: for several days and studying French. Am reading Chateaubriand's travels to Emily at night. Yesterday took a walk to one of the Gardens and brought back E. a beautifull boquet of flowers. R. V. and B. F. V. spent last evening with us playing whist.

Sunday. Went to church and heard a most beautifull and tender sermon from Mr. Wyatt. Afternoon,—took a long walk of 4 miles with Emily by Paterson's county seat and back by the catholic chapel. Spent the evening very agreeably with Mrs. Donalson.

Monday. Rose at 6. Saw Bert Willis in market. Bob is in town at Goodwin's. Must call to see them. Called to see them. Heard that Caroline Fitzhugh of Fairfax is to be married to a Mr. Withers of Florida and to go out at once. Wrote D. Briggs thereupon, enquiring whether it was true and when she would be here.

Read a letter from my father this morning Saturd. Sep. 19th and one from Sam, telling me that Mr. F. had two young mocking birds for us. Had Berry, who has come here to practice law and taken the office in my basement, to dinner yesterday, like wise, Sml. Dorsey and Dr. Baker, my College classmates. Had a very beautifull little dinner. I asked Jno. Minor of Fredg. who was staying in town likewise. He was engaged to dine with Collins. Took tea with him at Donaldson's. Have determined to go to Pha: middle of next week. Wrote a long and affectionate letter to my old college friend Wyndham Kemp of Gloucester Co:, Va., now in Miss.

practicing Law. Poor fellow! He is naturally melancholy, and I fear is very sad so far from home and his friends. I shall write him often and long letters because I know it makes him very happy to get them. Wrote a letter of introduction this morning for Sml. Dorsey to Mr. Roy of N. Orleans. Am reading a number of the law Library on the Office of Sheriff in connection with bail pieces taken by two justices. Chap. reced^d. a very beautifull present of a hat from his grandmama last night.

Monday Sep. 21st. 1835. Went to Church yesterday and heard a charming sermon from Mr. Wyatt, Berry sat with. We met Suittor¹⁴ of Norfolk after coming out and asked him to tea. He spent the evening with us. R. Voss stept in while we were at tea. Reced^d. a letter from B. Gordon, dated Paris July 29th, the day of the infernal machine attempting the king's life. I forwarded the letter to his father. We go to Pha: Wednesday. I expect to have a very pleasant trip. Shall hear Binney's oration on Marshall. Reced^d. a letter from Sam. some days since, which answered yesterday. Mr. Fitzhugh has raised us two mocking birds. Finished a long letter to Bazil B. Gordon this morning which I began some weeks since.

Put up my valuable papers to deposit with R. V. I am getting to the end of this my first journal. I regret not having kept one for some years. The little events which colour life are as evanescent as the tints of the rain box, and pass from the memory leaving as little trace as the dew drop does on the earth's surface. Why cannot all our faculties and powers grow stronger as we advance in the career of life. Our bodies and minds begin at opposite ends of the scale. The former grows stronger and clearer to the last, the latter becomes weaker as it loses the powerfull energies of juvenescence. Neither the one nor the other has any stopping place. Life has no stopping place, no point to stand upon and pause. But you are urged onward, in an unvarying progress, without the power of arresting one moment, and the future cannot be remembered without a sacrifice of the present. How short are the divisions of time even when life seems the longest. I am twenty five years of age and perhaps have finished one half the time allotted to my portion. I love the world, but I do not fear eternity. In the fullness of health, I do not fear my

Finis — Balto. Sep. 21, 1835.

¹⁴ Probably James Taylor Soutter who married J. M. Gordon's first cousin Agnes Gordon Knox. He moved to New York and became president of the Bank of the Republic there.

THE SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF ZACHARIAH HOOD

By AUBREY C. LAND

ANYONE who presumes to speak about Zachariah Hood has first to identify this worthy in the throng of nearly unknown figures that emerge from obscurity to utter a few lines into the record of history before retiring forever from the scene. Then, too, a reason ought to be given why such an insignificant person is selected from the horde of his kind to be spoken about. Both of these problems can be given a satisfactory answer and one that puts Hood's story in a new light. In the first place he did not bow off the stage quite as precipitately as has been believed.¹ Indeed, he displayed a remarkable talent for getting back into the show, never in a major role but into situations that enabled him to speak with the great even when he could not talk to them on terms of equality. Moreover his career after he is shuffled into darkness in most accounts, that is to say his subsequent career, has its instructive features and at least one streak of color.

The story of Zachariah Hood up to 1767 is relatively well known to students of revolutionary Maryland.² We first hear of him in connection with important events in 1765 when the *Maryland Gazette* printed a letter purporting to come from a "Gentleman in London."³ According to the London correspondent Hood had made remarks that later were to count heavily against him.

¹ James McSherry dismisses him at Jamaica, New York, deprived of his office by the Liberty Boys of the province, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 126. Matthew Page Andrews permits him to return to Maryland after the breach with the New York radicals and leaves him peacefully doing business as usual, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 285. Professor Charles A. Barker sends him to the West Indies and destitution, but allows him to petition the crown for relief in 1771, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 300.

² Barker, *Background*, pp. 299-300.

³ *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1765.

Parliament had recently passed the Stamp Act and Hood, a small-time Annapolis merchant just then in England on business, had managed to get himself appointed distributor for the province of Maryland. He had remarked that if his countrymen were to be stamped, it might as well be done by a native. But on his return home in mid-August of 1765 he found his countrymen resolutely determined to be stamped by no one and perfectly prepared to deal with anyone who tried it, native or not.

Shortly after he landed at Annapolis Hood witnessed two demonstrations of his countrymen's regard for all things connected with the distasteful stamp duty and for distributors in particular. In broad daylight on August 26 a band of Annapolis townspeople staged a mock procession honoring an effigy of Zachariah Hood, which they paraded to a gallows just outside town. There with solemn ceremonial they hanged and burned the dummy.⁴ A week later a more determined mob, reported as three or four hundred strong, descended under cover of darkness on a small warehouse that Hood had rented as a place for storing and distributing the stamps. So complete was their destruction of the building that even a chest of carpenter's tools left by a workman could not be salvaged.⁵

After these two outbreaks Hood understandably concluded that his own hide was not safe in Annapolis, and he looked about for a refuge. The stamps were expected at any moment. Their arrival was almost certain to signal another burst of fury on the most eligible target. Hood declined an offer of sanctuary in Governor Horatio Sharpe's own house and disappeared from sight until he found an opportunity to escape to New York where he made a wonderfully concise report to his English superiors. "Our province (Maryland) is extremely heated."⁶

Even in New York Hood found himself in peril from the heats that had aroused his countrymen to the south. Initially he made the nearly fatal mistake of taking up residence at the last resort in which he should have shown his face, the King's Arms Tavern, headquarters of the New York radicals. From the King's Arms

⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1765.

⁵ Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Earl of Halifax, Sept. 5, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 221.

⁶ Hood had reached New York by Sept. 23, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV, 134.

he soon moved to safer quarters at Fort George and finally to Governor Cadwallader Colden's farm on Long Island.⁷ But once he had exposed himself, Hood never shook the New York Sons of Liberty off his trail. Finally on November 26 the mob caught him and forced him to resign his office as stamp distributor.⁸

The next record of Hood's doings comes to us from the letters of Governor Sharpe, who had watched with concern the outbreaks against the stamp distributor and against an innocent officer commanding a British naval vessel suspected by Annapolis townspeople of bringing the stamped paper to Maryland.⁹ Sharpe had advised against attempting to land the paper in the province and had recommended that the navy keep it aboard a man-of-war lest it be destroyed. Whether Sharpe's advice determined the navy's course is not clear. But at any rate the stamped paper was not brought ashore in Maryland until after repeal of the Stamp Act. And with repeal local tension relaxed in the general rejoicing. Zachariah Hood even found it possible to return to pick up the wreckage of his business. According to Sharpe, Hood had "ventured back & keeps Store again in this City."¹⁰ Two weeks later the governor reported "Tranquillity . . . perfectly restored" and Hood conducting his business "to as great Extent & Advantage as he did before his Appointment."¹¹

Evidently Hood had hoped for such a sequel. The event quickly brought him to realize that he could never recover his old customers. In his own words he "soon found that their resentment continued." Without means of livelihood in Maryland, he left the colony for England, apparently in the expectation of compensation by the government.

The evidence on Hood's movements during the four years following 1766 comes from a single memorial that he presented to the Lords of the Treasury in February, 1771.¹² Hood told their Lordships that he had come from Maryland to England

⁷ Wilbur C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York, 1929), pp. 39-40.

⁸ Edmund S. and Helen Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 1953), pp. 153-154.

⁹ The Mewbray incident is told in Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 261.

¹⁰ Sharpe to Hugh Hamersley, June 15, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 313.

¹¹ Sharpe to Secretary Conway, June 27, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 315.

¹² *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV, 138-139.

where he had brought to the attention of the authorities the "state of this his Unhappy case."¹³ He had received no succor then and soon found himself in desperate financial straits. Evidently his experience in merchandising had enabled him to find employment with a mercantile firm engaged in trade to the sugar islands, presumably as a supercargo or agent of some sort. His own phrase is not fully clear. He merely states that, failing compensation by the government, he has "since been under the Necessity of undergoing the greatest fatigues of mind and Body in Voyaging to the West India's as a bare means of Support."¹⁴ Not only was his case a hard one, Hood let their Lordships know, but he had suffered these indignities of mind and body with the clearest conviction of his own righteousness. And to drive home his point he stretched the truth a trifle. "Your Memorialist was the only person employed [as provincial stamp agent] by his Majesty who refused to resign."¹⁵

But deliverance was at hand for Hood, not instantaneous of course, for that was not the working tempo of British officialdom. The machinery began to move, however, and on January 7, 1773, the commissioners of the customs at Boston signed the warrant that appointed Zachariah Hood comptroller of the port of Philadelphia.¹⁶

Hood's salary as comptroller was not magnificent—£80 sterling. But his perquisites in fees brought his total income from the office to a sum that must have seemed princely after his years of penury. His annual take in fees added £677 currency, or about £400 sterling, to his regular salary.¹⁷ Altogether he could hardly complain that his Majesty's government had ignored his suffering in the cause of upholding the king's dignity during the Stamp Act troubles.

¹³ This memorial has evidently not been preserved.

¹⁴ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV, 138-139.

¹⁵ Hood may have tortured some such meaning as "resignation under duress is no proper resignation" into his words "refused to resign." He surely had provided himself with some out in case the Lords raised embarrassing questions about his statement. It was reasonably well known that every single stamp distributor had resigned his post either under direct pressure of a mob or to forestall pressure.

¹⁶ Memorial of Zachariah Hood to the Royal Commission, July 16, 1784, in Hugh E. Egerton, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists* (Oxford, 1915), p. 155.

¹⁷ Anne Bezanson, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 318-319, 333-334.

Unfortunately other troubles were now at hand, more serious even than the Stamp Act difficulties. Just eleven months after Hood took up his duties at Philadelphia the citizens of Boston dumped the tea chests into the harbor to prevent forced landing and payment of the tea tax. Again Americans had resisted taxation, this time with fatal consequences for the empire that Zachariah Hood served. Tension in the colonies mounted beyond anything previously known when England expressed her displeasure in the Intolerable Acts. Not even Dr. Franklin's counsel of moderation had softened the determined attitude of parliament. On their side the colonists met parliamentary measures with equal determination. By early 1775 colonies and mother country had reached an impasse.

It was in these months of mounting crisis that Hood's American career came to an abrupt end. In early 1775 Hood made some incautious remarks about a Philadelphian, Benjamin Franklin, whose name he should have treated with the utmost respect. Instead he was sharp and unrestrained in his criticism of Franklin's conduct in England. For his pains he was given a sound thrashing by Franklin's son-in-law, Richard Bache.¹⁸ It is highly unlikely that, at this stage, Hood could have obtained satisfaction against Bache in the Pennsylvania courts. The whole apparatus of customs officers, and the vice-admiralty courts connected with them, was distasteful to the people of Philadelphia and Hood's association with officialdom hardly endeared him to the citizenry. His additional offense of censuring Franklin was not to be endured. In May Hood quit his unpopular post and sailed for England.

A second time Hood threw himself upon England's bounty. And again he was rescued from his distress. Lord North arranged a lump sum gift of £200 sterling for his immediate relief and granted him an annuity of £100 as a loyal servant of the crown suffering in his Majesty's cause. Moreover his salary as comptroller of the port of Philadelphia, £80 a year, was continued until he could resume his post at the end of troubles. But in 1782 the commissioners of the customs struck him off their list.¹⁹ By that year it had become plain that Philadelphia would never

¹⁸ Egerton, *Royal Commission*, p. 155.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

again require the services of a comptroller, at least not one sent out from England.

And now in July, 1784—exactly nineteen years after his entry upon the stage—we last hear of Zachariah Hood when his case is called by the Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists. Although he had lost his regular salary of £80 two years previously, Hood was still receiving the £100 pension that Lord North had given him in 1775. His memorial to the Commission recites only his career from his appointment as comptroller at Philadelphia, the post that he had abandoned “at the commencement of the troubles.” Of earlier troubles and loyal services for which he had been awarded the Philadelphia appointment he does not speak.

But as England had once minded her servant suffering in her cause after the Stamp Act so now in his greater travail she gave ear to his sad tale and ministered to his needs. Zachariah Hood slips finally from recorded history on 16 July 1784 when the Royal Commission awarded him a bounty of £100 sterling for life.²⁰

SIDELIGHTS

THE BOUNDARIES OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PRIOR TO 1695

J. NINIAN BEALL

The generally accepted authoritative history of the origin of Maryland counties is Edward B. Mathews' *The Counties of Maryland, Their Origin Boundaries, and Election Districts*, published in 1907 as Special Publication, Volume VI, part 5, of the Maryland Geological Survey. Mathews states on page 525:

In 1654 old Charles County was abolished and the territory on both sides of the Patuxent was erected into Calvert County. Somewhat later Calvert County was limited to the territory on the eastern side of the Patuxent and Prince George's County became part of the new Charles County which was erected in 1658. This was the condition of affairs up to the general act of 1695 when Prince George's County was erected.

The extant records do not provide much information upon which to work out the exact boundaries for this area before 1695, but from my own researches the above account by Mathews appears to be in error. Prince George's County was erected principally from territory which was Calvert County continuously from 1654 to 1695, and only a relatively small portion of Prince George's County, as erected in 1695, was from the territory of Charles County between 1658 and 1695.

The early counties represented settlements along and close to the water and originally they were not given fixed boundaries. The situation appears to be that the original counties included such adjacent backlands as were thereafter settled from time to time. As settlements developed at points remote from the original county seats and settlements, new counties were erected, partly for the convenience of inhabitants and partly for political reasons.

The result was that the counties were patterned primarily on the lines of settlement and the geographical configuration of the population rather than artificial boundaries. Mathews assumed that the Patuxent was made a boundary before 1658 between Calvert and Charles County, when in fact it remained a tie between the people on each side of it. Instead the division between the two counties from 1658 to 1695 was the watershed

divide between the Potomac and Patuxent River which separated their respective drainage areas.

Specifically, the Patuxent River frontage (south or west side) and all of the area, with drainage into the Patuxent River, which became Prince George's County, in 1695, was in Calvert County continuously from 1654 to 1695, and the area taken from Charles County in 1695 and made a part of Prince George's County consisted only of the Potomac River frontage and the drainage area into the Potomac River north of present Charles and extending as far as the District of Columbia.

Mathews takes the position that practically all of Prince George's County was erected from Charles. That view appears to disregard the fact that the branches of the Patuxent River were specifically included in the area of Patuxent County (1654). Patuxent County was renamed Calvert in 1658. He also makes the unsupported statement that Calvert County lost jurisdiction west of the Patuxent River about 1658, and that area became part of Charles and remained so until Prince George's County was erected in 1695. (page 525)

From 1648 to 1695, the land patents, deeds, wills, offices and litigations touching Charles County are uniformly consistent in being confined to the Potomac River drainage area and never include the Patuxent River drainage area. The line between Charles and Calvert, as observed by inhabitants of both counties in all of their affairs and transactions, was in general the divide between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers. Land patents issued as being in Charles County from 1658 to 1695 covered lands in the Potomac River drainage area only, and were designated as Charles County from 1658 to 1695. The local officers and the representatives in the council for Charles County were chosen by residents of the Potomac River drainage area. From 1658 to 1695 more than one hundred wills were described as of Charles County and in all instances the testators and their property were in the Potomac River drainage area and never included residents of the Patuxent River drainage area. The Patuxent River drainage area inhabitants designated their wills as of Calvert from 1654 to 1695. The Calvert County citizens residing west of the Patuxent River, usually identified their location as "of Patuxent, Calvert County" and those residing east of the Patuxent River frequently identified themselves as "of the Cliffs, Calvert County." There were about two hundred Calvert County wills probated between 1654 and 1695 and about half of them can be identified as from the area west of the Patuxent River.

There is nothing in the record to support the conclusion reached by Mathews that the inhabitants of the Patuxent River drainage area ever were in Charles County. Clearly they were in Calvert County from 1654 to 1695 and in Prince George's County after 1695.

Independently of my research, Mr. Joseph H. Smith of New York, who was working with Prince George's County Court Records at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, discovered that in Liber A, 1696-99, many of the cases had been transferred from Calvert County. He was surprised at this, after having learned from Mathews that Prince George's County was supposed to have been erected out of Charles County. Upon hearing of my interest

in the subject, he kindly made a closer search of the transferred cases and found none from Charles County. This furnished a welcome corroboration to my position that Prince George's County was erected primarily out of Calvert County.

MELVILLE IN BALTIMORE

GEORGE E. GIFFORD, JR.

Herman Melville gave a lecture on the *South Seas* at the Universalist Church, Calvert Street, Baltimore, on the evening of February 8, 1859. This was the tenth lecture in a series by The Mercantile Library Association. The Baltimore *Sun* of that morning had the following announcement:

Who has not read with delight the charming books of *Life and Adventure in the South Seas*, by Herman Melville? They first truly presented to the world men and manners in this enchanting region. The Mercantile Library Lecture this evening will present their author as a public speaker, and we know of no one half as well qualified as he to transport us, in fancy, to the ever clear sky and ever green shores of the Pacific islands—to observe the strange life of a people to whom nature offers, without labor, a perpetual feast—or to lead us on the dashing adventures of whale fishing in the surrounding seas.

Melville received \$100 for this lecture in Baltimore; this was the largest sum he had received from any of his lectures. At this time of his life, Melville tried to eke out a small income from his books and his farm by lecturing.¹ According to Howard, "a handsome hundred-dollar engagement in Baltimore reported with flattering fullness by the press, did nothing to destroy his good humor."² The report given in the *Sun* on February 9 follows:

His subject was "The South Seas," being a narrative of personal experiences among the Archipelagoes, and the Polynesian isles that lie scattered through that ocean, like stars in the heavens. His subject, the lecturer said, was literally an expansive one, and embraced an arena he would not dare say how much. He would not repeat old sayings, or summon back the memories of old voyagers, but would paddle along among its aspects at large, whether personal or otherwise.

The name South Seas, generally applied to this body of water is synonymous with Pacific ocean, which was afterwards applied to it because of the tranquility of its waters. Little was known of the

¹ Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 367-71.

² Leon Howard, *Herman Melville, A Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), p. 261.

"South Seas" by Americans until 1848—The discovery of gold in California, in that memorable year, first opened the Pacific and made its waters a thoroughfare for American ships. Much might be said of the finny inhabitants of this waste of waters—of the sword-fish, and the tilts he runs with ships; of the devil-fish, and the weird yarns of the sailors concerning him. The lecturer only wondered the great naturalist, Agassiz, did not pack his carpet bag and betake him to Nantucket, and from thence to the South Seas—the argosy of wonders. The birds, also, in their variety and strange plumage—birds never seen elsewhere—were a study.

The South Seas, or Pacific Ocean, is reckoned to embrace one-half of the earth's surface, or an expanse of one hundred millions of square miles. Explorations have failed to rend away the veil of its mysteries, and every expedition thither has brought discoveries of new islands until on our maps the ink of one is run into another. A lone inhabitant on one of these islands would be as effectually separated from his fellow man as the inhabitant of another world. They would be good asylums, the lecturer said, for the free lovers and Mormons to rear their pest houses in—provided the natives, degraded as they are, did not object.

The lecturer spoke of several adventurers who went in search of mystical spots, said to be embosomed somewhere in these seas. They were like those who went to Paradise—they probably found the good they sought, for they never returned more. There were only two places where adventurers can most effectually disappear, and they are London and the South Seas.

The lecturer spoke of the "beach hovers," a class of adventurers, or those cast by chance upon the Polynesian Isles. This cognomen was derived from the fact that they always hovered upon the shores, and seemed every moment on the point of embarking or disembarking. He also alluded to the natives and their modes of tattooing. Unless a man submits to be tattooed, he is looked upon as damned, which was the case with the speaker, as he frequently resisted the importunities of the native artists to sit. The tattooing, like the uniform of a soldier, is here symbolical of the Isle, or class to which the person belongs. The lecture abounded in interesting personal narratives, and held the interest of the audience to the close.

A BUCHANAN LETTER ON THE "CORRUPT BARGAIN"
OF 1825

CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR.

Pennsylvania's James Buchanan was the somewhat casual source of the "bargain and corruption" charge raised by the Jacksonians against the political marriage of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams in the contested presidential election of 1824. Pressed with all the vigor Jackson democrats could muster, the charge, on the one hand, materially aided in Jackson's elevation to the White House in 1828, while on the other, it persistently dogged the footsteps of John Quincy Adams and diminished the political stature of Henry Clay. Yet ironically the charge exploited so skillfully by Jackson men in the mid-twenties came home to roost on Buchanan's doorstep in 1856 when Maryland Old Line Whigs scored the Pennsylvanian "as the man who, above all others, knew the utter falsity of the calumnious charge of 'bargain and corruption' and who, through partisan animosity, not only withheld his testimony but indirectly countenanced and promulgated the charge."¹ Since Buchanan's presidential candidacy drew strength from both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line and rested heavily on the non-controversial character of his political past—a qualification of importance in the stormy days of the mid-fifties—the resolution of the Maryland Whigs greatly disturbed and provoked him.

Whatever weight is assigned the Whig counter-charge and Buchanan's reply, it is well to see them in perspective. During the contested election in 1824-5, Buchanan, who was friendly to both Clay and Jackson and was anxious to ease both out of a difficult situation, met with Jackson in Gadsby's Hotel and provided him during a subsequent walk with a piece of gossip no one else had had the temerity to offer him.² The gist of the gossip which allegedly came to Buchanan from friends of Clay was briefly as follows: friends of Adams had approached friends of Clay with an offer to make Clay Secretary of State in return for the Kentuckian's help in making Adams President. Clay men, however, let it be known through Buchanan that they did not wish the West "to separate from the West," a way of asking what bounty Jacksonians were prepared to place on the altar of Clay's ambition. Such was the substance of Buchanan's intelligence to Jackson; the answer was Jackson's retort that he would see the earth open and swallow up Clay, his friends, and himself before yielding to such a bargain. Only a few weeks after Buchanan's interview with Jackson,³ and just two weeks prior to the decision of the House on

¹ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, July 11, 1856. The Whigs met in Baltimore on July 10.

² Buchanan first asked Major Eaton, then Representative George Kremer, to pass the gossip on to Jackson: both refused.

³ Buchanan claimed the interview took place Dec. 30, 1824; Jackson said it was early January, 1825.

the election, the Philadelphia *Columbian Observer* ⁴ reported a bargain in the making between Clay and Adams. George Kremer who had earlier refused to convey Buchanan's information to Jackson was the author of the article; the source of this information which was to give Jackson men such an effective, if blunt, political instrument was James Buchanan.⁵

The origins of the "bargain" were not at once fully explored; no one seems to have understood that there might have been another side to it. Then in 1827 when Jackson was pressed for substantiation of the story he naturally urged Buchanan—and Jackson's urgings were tantamount to demands—to confirm what he had said about the proposed bargain by naming names. The Pennsylvanian was in a precarious position. Originally he had sought merely to encourage Jackson to let Clay know that Adams would be dropped as State Secretary if the General won the Presidency. Yet while Buchanan's motives may not have been sordid, his course was maladroitness, for by implication such a statement from Jackson would have been construed to mean that Clay could have the Cabinet post for services rendered and this in itself left room for the Adams faction's countercharges. Even more uncharacteristically Buchanan took another chance that exposed him to charges of still more serious import. Completely without authorization from Jackson, he met with Clay and Robert Letcher in the lodgings of the latter, and remarked that if Jackson were elected he would not look outside the room for his Secretary of State. The room was Letcher's; the choice was Clay. Buchanan obviously put Clay in position to brand the Jacksonians for an attempt to cement a bargain of their own, but at the Pennsylvanian's request Clay kept the matter under wraps until its revelation by his biographer in 1846.⁶ Meanwhile, however, Buchanan's reply to Jackson's promptings was a tedious and disappointingly ambiguous letter which both Republican factions made maximum use of, a letter conspicuous for its failure to mention the meeting with Clay and Letcher.⁷

It was mainly for this notable omission that the gathering of Maryland Whigs arraigned the Democratic candidate in 1856, and it was their censure that prompted him to write the following letter to Senator James A. Pearce of Maryland: ⁸

Private

My dear Sir,

12 July '56

. . . I have been both astonished & grieved at the unfounded charge made against me by the Whig Convention of Maryland. From the boast-

⁴ Jan. 25, 1825.

⁵ John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Publication No. 371, 1928), III, 281-2. Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1938), Chapters XXV, XXVI, and 845-846 notes.

⁶ See Calvin Colton, *The Life and Times of Henry Clay* (New York, 1846), I, 418 ff., and Calvin Colton letter, *Baltimore American*, July 12, 1856.

⁷ *Lancaster Journal*, Aug. 8, 1827.

⁸ James A. Pearce Papers. Maryland Historical Society. Two paragraphs of non-political matter at the beginning of the letter have been omitted.

ings of the Black Republicans I had reason to suspect that the Maryland Whigs would, though unconsciously, play into their hands; though I could not for a moment have imagined they would make an assault upon me.

In regard to what is called "the bargain," my conduct was as pure as truth itself. General Jackson had entirely misapprehended a conversation, the only one I ever had with him, on the subject of the then Presidential election. I related the whole of this conversation exactly as [it] took place on the street in Washington in my letter of August 1827 to the Editor of the Lancaster Journal. At the time, many of the friends of General Jackson were dissatisfied with it; but those of Mr. Clay considered it a triumphant refutation of the charge. I went out of my way in 1828 in my speech on Chilton's resolutions⁹ to repeat that I knew nothing of any such bargain; & for this I was censured by some of my political friends, who thought I had said enough in my letter of Aug: 1827.

I regret that this old story has been revived by the Whig Convention of Maryland; because it may compel me in necessary self defence to make a publication on the subject which would at least exonerate myself from every possible imputation. I shall not do this however without necessity. The subject is better understood by the Whigs of other portions of the union.

Yours very respectfully

James Buchanan

Hon: James A. Pearce

A ROBERT E. LEE LETTER TO P. G. T. BEAUREGARD

On May 4, 1956, Alice Beauregard Morse, wife of Colonel Edward Morse (author of the article on Blakeford in the December, 1955, issue of the *Magazine*) died suddenly. Mrs. Morse was a granddaughter of General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, C. S. A., (1818-1893). In compliance with what she would have wished, and as a memorial to her, Colonel Morse presented to the Maryland Historical Society the letter printed below from Robert E. Lee to Beauregard.

The letter was written while Lee was in Baltimore building Fort Carroll. To this assignment Lee had applied himself with ingenuity since November 15, 1848, in the face of a continued failure on the part of Congress to appropriate sufficient funds for the project. The foundations of the fort were completed by May 28, 1852, when Lee received notice that he was to relieve Captain Henry Brewington of the superintendency of the Military Academy. Reluctant to accept the political "plum" which had been handed to him, he asked that someone else be appointed to the post.

⁹ Register of Debates, 20 Cong., 1 Sess. 1827-1828, IV, part 1, pp. 1360-1377. John Bassett Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan* (1908), I, 286-312.

The Department refused to make a substitution and Lee dutifully acquiesced. On September 1, 1852, he became ninth superintendent of the United States Military Academy. Curiously, Beauregard, to whom Lee so freely expressed his dislike of the new assignment, also became superintendent of the Academy for a period of five days. He reported January 23, 1861, and had his orders revoked January 28.¹

Baltimore 25 June 1852

My dearest Beaury

"It is an ill wind that blows no good," and but for this unwished for breeze that is driving me towards W[est]. P[oint]. I fear I should never have heard from you. The reception of your letter has been the only pleasurable emotion produced by the order, which is the first I ever received that I did not at once commence to obey. I have been wanting to hear from you badly, and have not yet got over my disappoint—at missing you when in Mobile. I am glad to find that you are well and hearty. Long may you remain so. You are right in your conjecture of my not being pleased at being ordered to W. P. I know too well the thanklessness of the duty, and the impossibility of either giving or receiving satisfaction. I have been behind the scenes too long. I know exactly how it works. The Supt. can do nothing right and must father every wrong. I requested, if I was allowed any option in the matter, that some other be appointed in my place. I have been told it cannot be done. I shall therefore have to go and am to relieve Capt. B. in the first day of September. I shall endeavour to do my duty, and to consult the interests of the Academy in every particular. My reluctance to the service shall make no difference in my wishes or efforts, for the maintenance and advancement of an institution upon which I believe the standing of the Army, and military success of the country, mainly depends. But I shall get away from it as soon as I can. I agree with you entirely in the advantages to be derived from giving the Professors an opportunity to visit foreign Institutions, and of enlarging and liberalizing their sentiments on the wide subject of education and instruction. I have advocated it for years. But the narrow policy of our people and government forbids it. As soon as it was found that a Professor was sent off on such an errand the appropriation for his maintenance at the Academy, would be stricken off. Neither could they meet the expenses of such a mission without a proper allowance, and where could that be obtained from? It is also difficult to get the proper officers to go there as assistant teachers. The service is not sought for by those best qualified in general to perform it, nor will they do anything to make it attractive. To get them at all, you must catch them young, before they

¹ See Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography*. Vol. I (New York and London, 1934) Chap. XVIII; T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard; Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1954); and George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1868).

have gained experience in their profession, or enable them to leave a more disagreeable position. Bad alternatives both. But we must take it as we find it Beaurgard and make the best of it. If you were with me I should hope to succeed. But you must come on and see me.

There is a great assemblage of Engineer Officers in Washington at this time. The whole Pacific Board to commence with, Col. Smith at their head. Dutton & Wright of the Florida reef, and the Engineer of Pensacola Harbour. G. W. Smith passed through here on his way from there, a few days since. Stevens Foster, and Hunt of the Coast Survey, and others in the Engineer Bureau, make a goodly show. Congress will be alarmed to see so many fine officers idle. Look out for retrenchment when the Appropriation Bill comes up. I have not been to W[ashington], since the Christmas Holydays. Can therefore tell you nothing of the future. I shall work up the little balance of the former appropriation by the time I leave. The Sub-marine work goes on well. The foundation piles are driven, sawed off and prepared with ease and precision by steam machinery, for the reception of the stone work. The stone is laid by a diving bell in 15 ft water, at the rate of 100 rectilineal feet of wall, 2 ft high, a day; after the bottom course is laid. If we had have had sufficient funds, the whole wall would have been up to low water level this season. As it is two faces are brought to that point, and we have turned in the third. Brewerton takes my place here. I wish they had have left us as we were.

That young cadet of mine is with me now. This is his furlough year. Several of his comrades are also in Baltimore. Young Jerome Bonaparte, grand-nephew to the Emperor, graduates this year, and has brought with him 3 of his classmates. Casey, (son of Capt. C. of the Army and 1st of his class) Ives and Polk.² We had them all with us last night, together with the young officers on the Station, and all the pretty young girls of sweet 16—They were a merry set and talked so much they could hardly find time to eat a few raspberries and ices. They did contrive to swallow a little Champagne.

I do not know how my son will come out this examination. The standing was not published when he left. He thinks he will not be below 2nd, his comrades say 1st.³ Either will do, if he deserves it. I am glad to hear Barnard is improving. Remember me to him. Also to your handsome boys and believe me always your friend

R E Lee

Major P. G. T. Beauregard

U. S. Engrs

² Lee's son, George Washington Custis Lee, was in the Class of 1854. His classmates mentioned here were Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Thomas Lincoln Casey, Joseph Christmas Ives and Marshall Tate Polk.

³ Robert E. Lee achieved second rank in the Class of 1829 at the Academy, Beauregard was second in the Class of 1838, and both took class rank seriously. When "Custis" commenced at the Academy, he was inclined to be indolent, but his father constantly encouraged him to vie for top honors. G. W. Custis Lee graduated first in his class.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Present State of Virginia. By HUGH JONES. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by RICHARD L. MORTON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (published for the Virginia Historical Society), 1956. xiv, 295 pp. \$5.

The current vogue for reprinting outstanding pieces of Americana is most commendable, and the appearance of Hugh Jones's *Present State of Virginia* is more than welcome. Long familiar to students of the life and culture of the Old Dominion in the early eighteenth century, it has been hard to come by, even in the Sabin edition of 1865. From the viewpoint of this magazine's readers, Jones offers little direct information about Maryland (less than a page, in fact), but indirectly his comments on the aborigines, the country, tobacco culture, commerce, and kindred subjects are interesting and instructive.

The new features of this edition of Jones are the Introduction and the Notes by Richard Lee Morton of the College of William and Mary, a diligent scholar learned in this period of Virginia history. The Introduction supplies all the facts known about the Reverend Hugh Jones and adds materially to the story of his career in Maryland. After returning to England and publishing his *Present State*, Mr. Jones assumed charge of William and Mary Parish in Charles County, and later became the minister of North Sassafraus Parish, both of them in Maryland. A student of mathematics, he dabbled in calendar reform and played a prominent part in the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary controversy. These and other facts Mr. Morton chronicles as he establishes with convincing evidence the fact that there were three Hugh Joneses and carefully distinguishes his man from the others. One question, alone, arises: which Hugh Jones wrote "An Account of Maryland," for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, III, 604?

More space is given to the Notes than to either the Introduction or the text. These notes are full of useful information and references to authorities and sources; the close student will find them of real value. It is perhaps unfortunate that the editor did not make them more readily usable by condensing the data and eliminating references to obvious secondary works and familiar facts. Often, too, he could have assisted the neophyte by taking a stand on such controversial questions as the ascription by modern writers of the college edifice in Williamsburg to Sir Christopher Wren, a conclusion which does not seem to be borne out by

the text, or on the origin and nature of the Virginia ruling class—a perennial problem.

The Virginia Historical Society, under the vigorous leadership of John Jennings has recently published several valuable works on our early history, and this edition of Jones by Mr. Morton adds further distinction to this list.

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

University of California

John Filson of Kentucke. By JOHN WALTON. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1956. xiv, 130 pp., map. \$4.

John Filson's claim to a place in the pages of history rests on surprisingly scant foundations. Born in 1753 of Scotch-Irish parents, he taught school in Delaware during the American Revolution, then in the autumn of 1783 drifted to Kentucky with land speculation in mind. Having acquired 12,000 acres of good land, he conceived the idea that was to rescue him from obscurity: a book and a map that would advertise Kentucky, thus luring customers who might buy his precious acres. The resulting *Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, published in October, 1784, caught the imagination of a people just awakening to the romanticism of the frontier, partly because the thirty-three pages devoted to Daniel Boone gave the nation its first folk hero. George Washington, however, was unwilling to give the volume the endorsement required by the printers for a second edition, and Filson started west again in the spring of 1785. After another land-buying venture in Vincennes, he returned to Kentucky where he toyed with plans for a school, fought a series of law suits, and finally in 1788 joined two other speculators in a scheme to found a city on the Ohio that he burdened with the name of Losantiville. John Filson did not live to see his dream village rise as the city of Cincinnati; in September, 1788, he was killed by Indians while helping explore the valley of the Great Miami River.

Such a scant record of achievement would hardly inspire the usual biographer, but fortunately John Walton does not fit such a mold. A distant relative of John Filson, he has brought to his task a sense of dedication that transcends the practical. This has allowed him to spend years in searching out every scrap of evidence concerning Filson's uneventful career, and hours in careful and thoughtful interpretation of his inadequate documents. The result is a biography that should stand the test of time, as well as providing both fruitful and pleasant hours to today's readers. The publishers have added immeasurably by fashioning a book that is not only pleasingly designed and handsomely illustrated, but that has ample documentation where it belongs—at the bottom of the pages. Best of all, they include in a rear pocket a brilliant reproduction of Filson's 1784 map of Kentucky, an item that in itself is worth the price of the volume.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

Northwestern University

An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson. Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN and LEO F. STOCK. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956. xi, 382 pp. \$6.

Without doubt this will be the most important book in American historiography to be published this year, perhaps this decade. Two capable scholars (both lately deceased) who knew J. Franklin Jameson well and worked under his direction have selected and edited about 500 letters written by him and extracts from his diary through the years 1880-1937. The selection was judicious; the range wide with respect to time, persons, and subjects; the editing precise, restrained, impeccable. The introduction, by Miss Donnan is quietly brilliant. Great as is her admiration of Jameson and dedication to his memory, she has her facts in hand and her judgment under control. Our confidence in the editors' judgment and diligence had only increased when we turned the last page. Their final effort, a triumphant success, is a cornerstone for the biography of Jameson and the history of American historical writing which must be written. Happily, the Jameson Papers are to be in the Library of Congress where no doubt they can soon be consulted generally.

The Jameson letters have a fullness of thought and an exactness of language that must have made them as welcome to receive as they are to read today. In rapid order we find his comment on Herbert B. Adams and his friendships around the dinner table and in the seminar with many of the men who were to teach and write history for fifty years. If the illustration used as a frontispiece shows us an austere gentleman, let it be mentioned that in his youth Jameson boxed, played the flute, took long walks, and all his life wrote poetry including the Johns Hopkins *alma mater*. The eight years Jameson spent in Baltimore were crucial ones in his development. He entered Johns Hopkins University just after his 21st birthday. His was the first Ph. D. in history given by the University (1882), and he remained for six years as a Fellow in History. From 54 (and later from 1017) McCulloch Street as well as from the University seminars, Jameson first softened and enlarged a severe New England outlook. He knew as professors, lecturers, or students all the Hopkins history men of the early decades—D. C. Gilman, H. B. Adams, Henry C. Adams, Thorstein Veblen, Albert Shaw, Woodrow Wilson, M. C. Tyler, and many others. Not long before Jameson came to Baltimore, H. B. Adams had delivered at the Maryland Historical Society a lecture on *Maryland's Influence in Founding A National Commonwealth* (Baltimore, 1877), Fund Publication 11. The letters Jameson wrote from Baltimore not only reveal much of his formative years but add new facets to the cultural history of Baltimore in the last century.

Subsequently Jameson taught at Brown University and at the University of Chicago before accepting the historical research position of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. While at Brown he became, in 1895, the first editor of the *American Historical Review* which he edited

until 1901 and again from 1905 to 1928. Those who know the effort it takes to edit a smaller journal will understand one of the reasons Jameson wrote no multi-volumed history. At the Carnegie Institution Jameson quickly settled into his job as principal spokesman for the profession of history. Carnegie representatives searched out records vital to American history in foreign capitols (especially important to original states like Maryland), and Guide after Guide issued from the presses. Leland was in Paris; Stock was soon at work on the *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments*; *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* were edited by Burnett. Miss Donnan edited *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade*. That important tool, the *Writings on American History*, appeared annually. The *Dictionary of American Biography* was successfully completed, and the *Atlas of Historical Geography* appeared. The campaign to erect the National Archives building began, and Jameson lived to see the finished structure and the thriving institution.

The projects listed are only some of the highlights, represented in the letters, of a quarter century of activity while at the Carnegie Institution and a decade as Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. With it all Jameson served on innumerable committees, held uncounted offices, advised on the qualifications of many young scholars (for he had a judicial mind and was outside the academic circle), served as a clearing house for ideas and projects, and generally represented history in and from the Nation's capitol city. (Some will regret that some lesser projects like a directory of sons-in-law and similar relationships never appeared!)

In the jargon, which assuredly he would have deplored, of this latter day Jameson would have been called Mr. History or the historian's historian. Yet he was Amherst, not Harvard; American-, not German-trained; the touchstone of basic projects, not the writer of a great history; the quiet fellow who did hard, necessary work, not the founder of a "school" of history. It has been said of Jameson by Waldo Leland that he had no predecessor and would have no successor. This book offers abundant evidence that those words were truly spoken.

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

The Desolate South, 1865-1866. A Picture of the Battlefields and of the Devastated Confederacy. By JOHN T. TROWBRIDGE; edited by GORDON CARROLL. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. XVI, 320 pp. \$6.00.

"There never was any age better than this," wrote John T. Trowbridge in the months after Appomattox—"none that produced a more heroic race of men. We have worshipped the past long enough; it is time now to look a little into the merits of the present. Troy, and Greece, and Rome were admirable in their day, and the men of Israel did some doughty

deeds; but the men of New England, of the great Middle States, and of the vast Northwest, what have they not done?" Thus did this well-known Northern author appraise the martial feats of his own generation. Appearing in a very limited edition in 1866 under the title, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities*, this excellent contemporary account of the war's most famous scenes was immediately acclaimed as one of the best of its kind in existence. Now long out of print, this Civil War classic has been edited and condensed by Gordon Carroll, and reissued as, *The Desolate South, 1865-1866*. While specialists in the field will still seek out the full, original edition, the modern lay reader will welcome the reappearance of this sprightly, flavorful, well-written work in its present form.

John Trowbridge was from Monroe County, New York. Before he was twenty he was writing poetry and prose for publication. His success was instant and lasting, so much so that he refrained from military service.

Upon the defeat of Lee at Appomattox, Trowbridge—now a well-known literary figure—embarked on an extensive tour of the battlefields and cities of the late Confederacy. "I made acquaintance," he writes, "with officers and soldiers of both sides. I followed in the track of the destroying armies. I traveled by railroad, by steamboat, by stagecoach, and by private conveyance; conversing with all sorts of people from high state officials to 'low-down' Negroes." His quest was a rewarding one. Some of his descriptions of battlefields, northern and southern communities, and representative individuals are of surpassing quality. In the agonizing aftermath of war, he maintained a surprisingly high degree of objectivity, which failed him on but few occasions. The vast panoply which was America in the months after Grant and Lee shook hands is portrayed in Trowbridge's pages with the touch of an artist, the sympathy of an enlightened Unionist, and the immediacy of a pilgrim. The work is likely to remain as one of the brightest pages in post-Civil War reporting.

The book is arranged by chapters, each chapter being devoted to a significant battlefield or city of the war. Beginning at Gettysburg, Trowbridge was privileged in being conducted over the field by the old citizen-hero of the First Day's battle, John Burns. The northern writer was much impressed by the new Soldiers' National Cemetery, still under construction after having been dedicated in November, 1863, by Abraham Lincoln. "I looked into one of the trenches," he writes, "where workmen were laying foundations for headstones and saw the ends of coffins protruding. It was silent and dark down there. Side by side the soldiers slept, as side by side they fought."

Interesting to Marylanders is the section concerning the western part of the Old Line state. Trowbridge was evidently not pleased with what he saw of Boonsboro, stating, "The traveler's most pleasant experience of Boonsboro is leaving it. The town contains about nine hundred inhabitants, and the wonder is how so many human souls can rest content to live in such a moldy, lonesome place. Leave it behind you as soon as convenient . . ." Nor was his view of Sharpsburg any more favorable. But South Mountain, and the Federal success there under McClellan, impressed

Trowbridge. His lines here concerning the 1866 aspect of the battlefield, the moldering soldier-dead lying scattered about, and the run-down condition of the temporary graves make for a moving passage. On the Antietam field, near Sharpsburg, he was struck by the horrors remaining from the bloodiest single day in American history. "I picked up a skull lying loose on the ground like a cobblestone," he relates. "It was that of a young man; the teeth were all splendid and sound. How hideously they grinned at me! and the eye sockets were filled with dirt." A fine sketch of Maryland Heights—overlooking Harper's Ferry—rounds out this section.

Other historical places, with names that are now legendary, are described with an authentic ring by Trowbridge, especially Fredericksburg, Chattanooga, Petersburg, and Richmond. Not as brilliant are his word-pictures of Bull Run, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, and Fort Sumter. And somewhat disappointing are the chapters devoted to Chancellorsville, Vicksburg, Atlanta, and New Orleans.

That Trowbridge was able to span the gulf between North and South in his valuable study of the Valhallas of "Our War" may be seen from his recorded musings in the then-new National Cemetery at Antietam: "Here let the dead rest together, they of the good cause and they of the evil; I shall be content. For neither was the one cause altogether good nor was the other altogether bad: the holier being clouded by much ignorance and selfishness, and the darker one brightened here and there with glorious flashes of self-devotion. It was not, rightly speaking, these brothers that were at war. The conflict was waged between two great principles—one looking towards liberty and human advancement, the other madly drawing the world back to barbarism and the Dark Ages. America was the chess-board on which the stupendous game was played, and those we name Patriots and Rebels were but the pawns."

It is good to have this stimulating, perspicacious classic reissued, even though in the process Gordon Carroll has felt obliged to throw out some of the wheat with the chaff, and to refrain from supplying annotations which would be of use.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

The Pennsylvania State University

The Presbyterian Enterprise: Sources of American Presbyterian History.

By MAURICE W. ARMSTRONG, LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER and CHARLES A. ANDERSON. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956. 320 pp. \$4.50.

To the rapidly growing field of research in American colonial history here is a carefully edited source book to add to the libraries of the world. It is a product from the pen of three competent historians. Professor Maurice W. Armstrong is a member of the faculty of Ursinus College and Professor Lefferts A. Loetscher of the faculty of Princeton

Theological Seminary. Dr. Charles A. Anderson is director of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia.

Out of the vast collection of journals, diaries, periodicals and minutes of various judicatories, they have gathered together a sampling of the most significant documents. A few words from the foreword of the book makes perfectly clear the intention of the authors:

The book makes no narrow denominational emphasis. It will be equally enjoyable to the scholar and to the average reader. Here we see the fear of change, the struggle for religious security, the adjustment to the advance of science, the broadening church. . . . The thread of religious liberty weaves itself into the Church from start to finish. Throughout its history the Church has laid a strong emphasis on an educated ministry. Again and again we find the Church making a vigorous effort to spiritualize American life. Knowing that their fathers had suffered grievous persecution in Europe, the colonists continued vigorous opposition to all attempts to plant State Churches in this country. Tensions between liberals and conservatives have sometimes risen to high pitch. Early in our American History Presbyterians adopted a Confession of Faith which allows for wide differences in interpretations of beliefs. Tolerance is a delicate plant which still needs cultivation.

The documents date from 1706 at which time the first surviving Presbyterian was formed in Philadelphia by Francis Makemie. From that remote date down to the present the book presents a series of significant documents. In effect these trace accurately the history of the church from its early colonial beginnings, through the decades of expansion as our country became a great nation and finally down to the present concerns of the church. Taken as a whole it presents a profile sufficiently clear so that a general reader, as well as a scholar, will have a fair picture of the developing life of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America.

The format of the book is to be commended as well as the arrangement of its sections and its explanatory material. Some of the documents which reach back into the colonial era of our nation contain some highly interesting descriptions of primitive life among the Indian tribes, as well as the customs that prevailed among the churches. The latter part of the book contains documents relating both to the internal affairs of the Presbyterians and their interest and effort in the general trend toward the unity of the churches in the ecumenical (the whole family) movement.

JOHN H. GARDNER, JR.

Picture History of the U. S. Navy. By THEODORE ROSCOE AND FRED FREEMAN. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1956. Unpaged, 1011 Illustrations. \$12.50.

A busy dentist should welcome this book for his waiting room library. It is too large and heavy to be accidentally borrowed, and a sore tooth, or the apprehension of one, will prevent any reasonably knowledgeable reader from noting the multitude of faults and errors.

From cover to cover it is obvious the authors have no conception of what such a book should be. There has been a complete lack of any critical faculty in the choice of pictures. The authors show an equal lack of knowledge of maritime technology and only a slender knowledge of naval history. Either proof reading or manuscript preparation has been faulty and the sloppiness of the credits to actual sources shows conclusively that the authors have only the slightest first-hand acquaintance with the pictures they have used.

A few examples which concern Maryland will make clear this book's worth to a serious student of naval history and iconography. Picture number 48 calls Captain Lambert Wickes of Kent County a "Maryland lobsterman" although all the lobsters ever caught in Maryland would not fill a crab barrel. Number 47 gives us a portrait of an officer resplendent in the uniform of the 1830's captioned as James Nicholson "Chesapeake squire" and senior captain of the Continental Navy; evidently the authors are unaware that Nicholson ended his service in 1783, died in 1804, and that there were at least two other James Nicholsons in the Navy in later years, one of whom is doubtless depicted here. Number 50 is Joshua Barney dressed in all the effeminate finery of a French naval captain in spite of a Charles Willson Peale portrait of him when a Continental naval officer and a Rembrandt Peale portrait of War of 1812 vintage. In connection with Nicholson and Barney the frigate *Virginia* (built at Baltimore with the former as commander and the latter as first lieutenant) is said to have been captured by the British after running aground off Annapolis when actually the ship was taken on the Middle Ground between Cape Charles and Cape Henry. In the War of 1812 John Stricker is named as the defender of Baltimore with no mention of sundry others including General Samuel Smith. According to number 392, if the Maryland Historical Society needs to know the whereabouts of its original manuscript of the *Star Spangled Banner* they will find it in The National Archives.

Just in case one might think the authors have a peeve at Maryland, the rest is just as bad. Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia is said to have resigned from the Royal Navy to fight in the Continental fleet: if so, he was a far sighted man since he came home from Britain in 1774. Captain Timothy Boardman of Connecticut is said to have lost the privateer *Oliver Cromwell* to HMS *Beaver*, which thereby saves the face of Captain Harmon Courter who happened to be the man on the spot and landed a prisoner of war for it. Number 171 shows the French fleet leaving Boston—"farewell gesture to inhospitable Boston" the authors say, but clearly depicted in the background are lateen rigged chebecs, pretty good evidence it was inhospitable

Toulon or Marseilles saying farewell, not Boston. Number 13 is titled "Taking the Weather Gauge" and goes on to explain the importance of the manoeuver in sailing days, but the illustration shows a frigate running free, before the wind, and another with sails aback, virtually stationary.

Twenty-six reproductions of original paintings owned by one museum are credited to five others. Seven owned by another museum are gratuitously donated to three other institutions. In one instance the late publisher of the *Boston Globe* is said to be the artist who executed a painting dated many decades before he was born. An engraving of the frigate *Boston* built in 1799 is captioned as the *Boston* of 1776. One illustration is used three times in its entirety, and frequently details of paintings are used as complete pictures. A picture of John Paul Jones' first command, the sloop *Providence*, we are told is from an "Old Print"; actually it is from a drawing by the late George Wales, ca. 1920-30. Picture 381 is titled "Ship *Osage*," but the picture shows a two-masted schooner. 492 "Mutiny on Barque *Oscar*" calls the *Oscar* a naval vessel (she was really a whaler with the whale boats clearly shown) in one sentence and two sentences later denies she is "on the regular navy list." For the sentimental there is a picture of the "Tomb of the Unknown Sailor"—photograph of a blank piece of water which could have been taken from the good old ship *Bay Belle* as she plugged down the Patapsco to fight fried chicken, soft crabs, and hot dogs at Tolchester or Betterton or wherever.

So the book goes. Frankly the reviewer could not get through it—up to the Civil War was enough. But even though it has no value, if the book can divert attention from that aching tooth, it will have been of some utility.

MARION V. BREWINGTON

Peabody Museum, Salem Mass.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 11 and 12. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1955. 704 pp.; 706 pp. \$10, each.

There are now an even dozen Jefferson Papers volumes on the shelves representing about twenty per cent of the material to be printed. Volumes 11 and 12 cover all of 1787 and the early months of 1788. Jefferson's activities, both officially and unofficially, as Minister to France in this period are fully illuminated. The record of his trip to southern France makes for fascinating reading indeed and many a warm, languid day is recreated. The letters to and from Americans on personal matters and on public affairs at home including Shay's Rebellion and the Constitutional Convention together with letters interpreting America to others are full of interest and supply a further wealth of detail about the man and his times. To those familiar with the earlier volumes it need only be added that the previous editorial standards are maintained.

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

Loyalist Clarks, Badgleys and Allied Families. By ESTELLE CLARK WATSON. Rutland, Vermont (Address inquiries to author, 2316 Thayer Street, Evanston, Illinois), 1954. xii, 329 pp.

This book is chiefly a record of the posterity of two men, Matthias Badgley (1771-1851) of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and Robert Clark (1774-1823) of Dutchess County, New York, each of whom settled at Ernesttown, now in Ontario, after the Revolutionary War. So far as one can tell, Badgley was a Loyalist only in association, while the career of Clark was typical of Canadian Loyalism. Their descendants are numerous and widely scattered.

Mrs. Watson's research has been thorough, and her guesses are helpful because they are labeled as conjectures and kept under control. She submits much information on various unrelated Clarks and Badgleys with whom her own family might otherwise be confused, and she offers many hints for further reading. The only serious criticism of her book that may be anticipated is that it is hard to use, since materials gathered with care were apparently organized in haste. In extenuation it may be pointed out that this volume actually comprises two volumes bound as one, each being equipped with its own exhaustive index.

Surely the multiplying ties of kinship between Canadians and citizens of Canada's southern neighbor contribute to our excellent international relationship. Mrs. Watson, a member of the D. A. R., is evidently one of many Americans who have come to understand and respect the traditions of both Revolutionary and Loyalist ancestors.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission, Harrisburg*

McNair, McNear, and McNeir Genealogies, Supplement 1955. Compiled by JAMES BIRTLEY MCNAIR. Los Angeles: privately printed, 1955. xviii, 457 pp. \$9.75.

The Scottish family of McNair migrated extensively to America. The many descendants have been carefully traced by the compiler of this work. Maryland descendants of Thomas McNair and Nancy Burgess are included among the many McNairs of America. The text is attractively printed, with excellent illustrations and a detailed index. Copies may be procured by writing to the author at 818 South Ardmore Avenue, Los Angeles 5, California.

Early Records of Taliaferro County Georgia. Compiled and arranged by ALVIN MELL LUNCEFORD, JR. Crawfordville, Georgia: privately printed, 1956. 126 pp. Paper, \$5.

This source book of early records of Taliaferro County will be of considerable interest to Maryland families because of a post-Revolutionary migration of pioneers from Maryland who settled about 1788-1790 in the Raytown area of Taliaferro County, then Wilkes County, Georgia. The settlement was called Locust Grove and there, in 1790, was established the first Roman Catholic Church in the State of Georgia, the Church of the Purification; this church is still in existence. A log church was built in 1790 and a priest, Father John LeMoin, was sent from Baltimore sometime before that. Father LeMoin died of fever in Savannah in 1794 and was succeeded by the Rev. Fr. Gilbert LeMercier, also of Baltimore, who attended the churches at Locust Grove, Augusta, and Savannah. A few of the family names of early Marylanders who settled at Locust Grove were Billingslea, Cratin, Davis, Griffin, Inge, Luckett, Semmes, Smallwood and Thompson.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGY PRIZES

Awards for the best genealogies of Maryland families will be given at the close of the year. Under provisions of the gift of Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, contestants are invited to submit papers before December 31, 1956. Since only two papers were entered in the 1955 contest, no prizes were awarded for last year. The worth of prizes this year consequently has been increased to: 1st, \$50; 2nd, \$30; 3rd, \$20. Awards are made on the basis of thoroughness, accuracy, amount of interest in the family and clarity of presentation. Each paper must be typed and ready for general use.

WOODROW WILSON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION COMMISSION

In order to carry out the functions given to it by Congress, this Commission is most anxious to learn of all Woodrow Wilson literature published or produced in this centennial year of Wilson's birth, and to obtain information about all activities and programs relating to the centennial. To this end we request the cooperation and help of the readers of this *Magazine* on the following matters:

1. The Commission requests that readers inform it of all books, articles and papers about Wilson published in 1956 and of all unpublished addresses and sermons bearing on Wilson and delivered in 1956. The Commission will also be grateful for copies of these materials. It will use them and the requested information in preparing a guide to the 1956 Wilson literature and also in assembling a special Woodrow Wilson Centennial Collection of the more significant portions of that literature, both published and unpublished.

2. The Commission also seeks information about all programs and activities relating to the Woodrow Wilson Centennial. Whatever the event—lecture series, discussion forum, library or school exhibit, TV or radio program, address, sermon, musical or dramatic presentation—the Commission asks readers to send it the following facts about any Centennial program that they know of: Date and place of the program, what group arranged it, what it included, who took part in it, and how many persons saw or heard it. Newspaper accounts are especially helpful.

Communications may be sent to:

The Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission
Interior Building, Washington 25, D. C.

THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS

Mr. William B. Marye has kindly furnished the following additional information and corrections to his article on "The Great Maryland Barrens" which appeared in the March, June and September numbers of the *Magazine*, volume 50, 1955, pages 11-23, 120-142, 234-253.

Part I, p. 21, note 29: Gaypot and Bynian. It appears that these are the names of men for whom surveys had been made within the bounds of Benjamin Rogers' Reserve, a later survey. March 21, 1771, there was laid out for Martin Gaypot 109 acres, called Just and Good Reason, in the Reserve, on a branch of Black Rock Run. (Baltimore County Survey Book, 1771-1776, f. 63, Md. Hist. Soc.)

Part II, pp. 121-2, note 48: among significant names of surveys should be included Gorsuches Bare Barrens, 370 acres, laid out Dec. 29, 1770, in the Reserve, near Black Rock Run. (Baltimore County Survey Book, 1771-1776, f. 67, Md. Hist. Soc.); Montgomery's Desire, including St. Patrick's Purchase, March 20, 1771, for Wm. Montgomery, beginning at an oak standing "near the top of a Barren Hill known by the name of Slate Ridge," (now Harford County). (*Ibid.*, f. 83); and a tract of land not named, surveyed for Vincent Standifer, Oct. 15, 1772, beginning at 3 chesnut saplings on a ridge "between Woody Hill Run and the lone tree bottom." (*Ibid.*, loose leaf in volume.) Woody Hill Run is now called the Third Mine Run. This record increases the number of lone tree place-names in the Barrens to three.

Part II, p. 142: evidence that the white settlers of Maryland deliberately set fire to the woods is the petition in 1735 of freeholders of Cecil County to the House of Burgesses against burning of the woods in said county. (*Archives of Maryland*, XXXIX, p. 229.)

Part III, p. 243, note 147: the author considers the subject of the primitive southern limits of the hemlock in Western Shore counties of Maryland to be of considerable interest. He has been asked, in this connection, to give proof that "Baker's Delight" is situated at that place on the Main Falls of Patapsco, formerly known as Air's Ford, where Ellicott's Upper Mills formerly stood. The reader is referred, first to Charles W. Evans *Biographical Account of the Fox, Ellicott and Evans Families* (1882), p. 31, where he will find an account of the beginnings of Ellicott's Upper Mills; secondly, to Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. A, folios 285-289: Deed, Jan. 21, 1777, George Wall, Jr., conveying to Joseph, Andrew, Nathaniel and John Ellicott, all his one half part (the said Ellicotts being already possessed of the other half), of three parcels of land, lying partly in Anne Arundel County, partly in Baltimore County, called "Baker's Delight," 40 acres, "Hood's Haven," 115 acres, and "Addn. To Hood's Haven," $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres, also 20 acres condemned for a grist mill, the whole lying together and forming one tract of land. It is recited that the aforesaid lands were conveyed by Benjamin Hood, one half the aforesaid Wall, the other half to the aforesaid Ellicott brothers, by deeds recorded in Anne Arundel County. The land so acquired by the Ellicotts became the site of their Upper Mills.

The Lower Mills were at Ellicott City. North Avenue (Baltimore City), if projected westwards, would strike the Falls near the site of Ellicott's Upper Mills.

Part III, p. 250, note 180: the author has found his note on wolves taken at the time when Dr. Keech passed on to him the information he had from his mother. Mrs. Keech spent a winter of the War of 1812 on a farm at Pikesville, where the Soldiers' Home later stood. There she heard the yelping (or howling) of wolves at night. Notes from Baltimore County Court Proceedings show that in 1683 bounty was paid on 35 wolves' heads; in 1684 bounty was paid on 21.

Part III, p. 253, concluding paragraph: the mystery of the wilderness is wonderfully developed in Joseph Conrad's well-known story, "Heart of Darkness."

Additional mention of the Barrens appears in the will of John Bond, of Baltimore County, dated Dec. 18, 1792. (Abstract in Cary Papers, Bundle 18, Md. Hist. Soc.) The testator directs that "my land in the Barrens" be sold and proceeds divided among children. I have not identified the land. *Descendants of Col. Thomas White*, p. 134, states that James W. Hall married in 1785 Sarah, daughter of Clement Brooke, of The Barrens, Baltimore County. The aforesaid Brooke owned upwards of a thousand acres on the North Branch of Patapsco Falls, called "Brooke's New Adventure." This land lay mostly in the valley of Roaring Run and on both sides of the Falls. (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 346-348.)

Errata: Part III, p. 243, note 148, line 1, "Ridon" should be "Rigdon"; p. 250, line 14, "woves" should be "wolves": note 181, line 6, "here" should be "her"; p. 251, note 187, line 6, "was" is omitted after "those parts."

Maryland League to Kentucky—I would like to hear from descendants, or persons who know about, the sixty Catholic families comprising the Maryland League to Kentucky which flourished at the end of the 18th century. Primarily from St. Mary's, Charles and Prince George's counties, these families (Simpson, Montgomery, Boone, Brown, Heard, Bean, Cissel, Jarboe, Worland—Edelen, Jenkins, etc.) migrated to the Bardstown, Ky. area.

MRS. EARL J. HUGGINS, JR.
The Pines, Route 1, Holts Summit, Mo.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES H. BOHNER of the English Department, University of Delaware, is completing a full-length biography of John Pendleton Kennedy, and as a result has explored many bypaths in Maryland literary and political history. ☆ CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR., Social Sciences Department, University of Florida, has written a number of articles on labor history and is now preparing for publication a book on Britons in American labor from 1860 to 1920. ☆ DOUGLAS GORDON is well-known to the readers of the *Magazine* for his articles and book reviews on local history. He is also an authority on French literature, fine books and bindings, and notable for his support of the cultural institutions in Baltimore, to mention but a few of his attainments. ☆ AUBREY C. LAND, Professor of History at the University of Nebraska, is the author of *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955). ☆ J. NINIAN BEALL, a prominent Washington attorney, has done extensive research in Maryland source materials in quest of information about his family in Prince George's County. ☆ GEORGE E. GIFFORD, JR., M. D., is interested in the contacts of major literary figures with Maryland and has uncovered a number of valuable footnotes to literary history as a result.

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